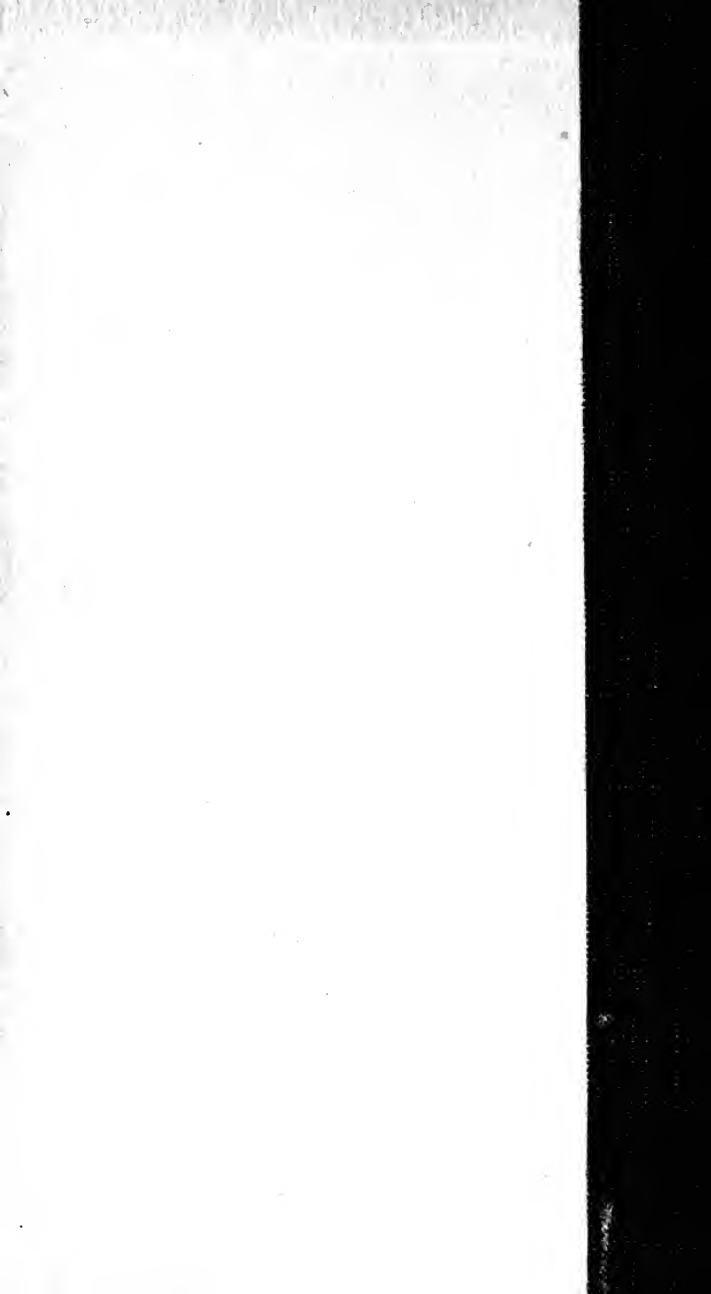




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LIVES

OF

EDWARD PREBLE

AND

WILLIAM PENN.

BOSTON:
LITTLE, BROWN AND COMPANY.

1864.

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BY LORENZO SABINE.

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L I F E

OF

EDWARD PREBLE,

COMMODORE IN THE NAVY OF THE UNITED STATES;

BY

LORENZO SABINE

2

P R E F A C E .

IN the following pages, I have endeavored to give a plain and accurate narrative of the life and public services of the late Commodore Edward Preble, of the navy of the United States. Several sketches of this distinguished officer have appeared from time to time; but, as far as I am aware, no biography, which contains all that should be known, has been published. In several particulars I have been compelled to differ from the writers who have preceded me; but it will be found, as I would fain believe, that, without assailing others, my own views have been stated in terms entirely respectful towards all. The general tone of every notice of Commodore Preble, that has fallen under my eye, whether found in books of history or in articles specially devoted to the subject of his claims to remembrance, is marked by great fairness and commendable accuracy. And it is by no means impossible, that, in some of the cases in which I have undertaken to correct mistakes, I may have

fallen into others. Yet, as the points of difference are not always decided favorably to the Commodore's pretensions, I claim to have been governed by a desire to ascertain and state the truth.

The papers in possession of his family have been at my disposal, and upon these materials I have chiefly relied. They consist principally of original letters and documents, received by Commodore Preble in the course of his official duty, and of copies of his own official letters to the various functionaries with whom he maintained a correspondence. For the first portion of the work, however, information has been obtained from other sources. Still, as the materials for an account of his life, previous to his entering the navy, are extremely scanty, and in some respects unsatisfactory, necessity has required that his operations in the Mediterranean, as commander-in-chief of the third squadron, in the war with Tripoli, should occupy a large space; and, as upon his brilliant deeds and surpassing energy and activity in that war his fame rests, the deficiency is scarcely to be regretted in writing a memoir of a limited extent, since fuller details of an earlier period would have demanded a corresponding abridgment in the relation of the most important events of his career.

In the belief that the reader may wish to know the fate of those, with whom the Commodore was officially connected, the date of the decease of many persons, whose names appear in these pages, is appended at the close.

The kind attention of several friends deserves my thanks; and the very considerable aid afforded me by Mr. Nathaniel F. Deering, of Portland, and by Mr. George H. Preble, Passed Midshipman of the United States navy, claims my special acknowledgment.

EASTPORT, Maine, 1846.

EDWARD PREBLE.

CHAPTER I.

Ancestors of the Prebles of Maine. — General Jedediah Preble and his Family. — Birth of Edward Preble. — His early Life. — He makes a Voyage in a Privateer. — Obtains a Midshipman's Warrant in the Massachusetts Marine, and joins the Protector, under John Foster Williams. — Captured and sent Prisoner to New York. — Released. — First Lieutenant of the Winthrop, under George Little. — Performs a brilliant Exploit near the Mouth of the Penobscot. — At the Peace, he enters the Merchant Service.

THE first city of New England, and perhaps of the United States, was Gorgeana, known originally as the borough of Agamenticus, now the town of York, in Maine. It was founded by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the Lord Palatine of Maine; and in 1642 it received its city franchises. Among its earliest inhabitants was

Abraham Preble, the common ancestor of Jedediah Preble of the revolutionary era, of William Pitt Preble, late minister from the United States to the Netherlands, and of all of that name in Maine. Abraham had accompanied the men of Kent from England to Setaat, or Satuit, the present Scituate of the Old Colony, about the year 1637; and, purchasing a piece of land of Edward Godfrey, in 1642, he soon after removed to the new city. His name occurs in the records of Maine, as engaged in public affairs, as early as 1645, when he had been appointed to a seat in Gorges' Council. Retaining the dignity while the stout old royalist's authority continued, he was a member of the General Court under the succeeding rule of Godfrey; and, in the organization of a military force for the protection of the infant colony, he was the first officer commissioned with the rank of major.

After Massachusetts extended her jurisdiction over the settlements in the westerly part of Maine, he received a judicial appointment; and when, a few years after, her authority was disputed, and said by many to be usurped, his name appears on the petition to Cromwell to confirm and establish her claims. From this period till his death, which occurred in 1663,

he seems to have been among the prominent men of the time, and to have enjoyed the public confidence. His wife was Judith, daughter of Nathaniel Tilden, of Scituate, ancestor of the Tildens of Boston. She survived him, and administered upon his estate. His children were seven, Abraham, Benjamin, Nathaniel, Joseph, Stephen, Sarah, and John. Abraham, the eldest son, filled several offices of trust and honor, and is distinguished in the annals of Maine. Benjamin, the second son, was the father of Jedediah, "the Brigadier."

Jedediah was born at York, in the year 1707, and inherited the homestead, of which, in 1729, his father gave him a free deed, retaining a life interest. He was the first Preble who settled at Falmouth, now Portland, and became one of the leading men of the troubled times in which he lived. His first office under the crown appears to have been that of a captain of infantry, in Colonel Samuel Waldo's regiment; and his commission, signed by Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, bears date June 5th, 1746; though another commission of captain, dated November 1st, 1747, and bearing the signature of Charles Knowles, Governor of the Island of Cape Breton, as well as that of Shirley, and having the seal of both, has been preserved. His particular service, prior to the

year 1755, may not now be determined; but at that time he was at Fort Cumberland, Nova Scotia, and under command of General Winslow, who was engaged in the unpleasant duty of removing the Acadians. Under Wolfe, in 1759, he was near that brave man when he fell on the Plains of Abraham, and was wounded in the thigh. The bullet, which, striking his broad-flapped waistcoat, drove a piece of that garment into the wound, was long kept in the family. Continuing in the military service, he was again wounded, and before the war closed, attained the rank of brigadier-general. After the peace of 1763, he was appointed to the command of Fort Pownall, on the Penobscot; and between 1753 and 1774 he was a member of the General Court nine years, and of the Council one year.

Espousing the Whig side, when the revolutionary controversy opened, he was commissioned a brigadier-general, by the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, in 1774; and subsequently the same body tendered the far more responsible and important appointment of major-general and commander-in-chief of the forces, which his health and advanced years compelled him to decline.* But he continued in

* On the 27th of October, 1774, the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts chose three general officers, Jedediah

civil employments for the remainder of his life, having been a member of the Provincial Congress in 1776 and 1777, and a representative under the constitution in 1780. In the last named year, he was also elected to the Senate, and he held that office for three years. In 1782 and 1783, he was a judge of the Common Pleas. He died March 11th, 1784, at the age of seventy-seven years. He was twice married. The children by the first marriage were Jedediah, Samuel, John, Lucy, and William. In 1754, he was united to a daughter of Joshua Bangs, then the widow of John Roberts, who bore him seven children. Ebenezer was a merchant of Boston, of respectability and wealth, and owned a valuable estate in Watertown. Joshua followed the sea, and became a ship master. Enoch was also a ship master, and a gentleman of distinguished worth. His son, George H., an officer of the United States navy, is the only one of the name in the service. Henry married in France, and passed his life principally in that kingdom. Statira married Richard Codman, of Portland.

Preble to be the first in rank, Artemas Ward the second, and Seth Pomeroy the third. General Preble declined the appointment, and the chief command then devolved on General Ward. *Journals of the Provincial Congress*, p. 35.

Martha was the wife of the Reverend Thomas Oxnard, a loyalist of the revolution, and pastor of the Episcopal Church in Portland. Edward, the third son, is the subject of this memoir.

General Preble was emphatically a man of strong character; and there can be little doubt, that, had the revolution occurred earlier, and before his life was in its wane, he would have borne a principal part in it. Possessed of great personal courage, a quality, which, it is believed, is common in all branches of the family, and resolute and determined to a degree that grew into a proverb; firm and devoted to the Whig cause, and yet respected by the loyalists;* he seems to have been peculiarly fitted for a commanding position at the crisis. He never violated his word, whether pledged to perform great or small affairs. In person, he was stout and robust. According to the fashion prevalent among gentlemen of the time, he wore a red cloak. He was fond of a story and a joke; a kind neighbor and a good citizen. Of an adventurous disposition, his descendants retain the conviction, that he was the first to ascend

* Some years after the revolutionary parties were formed, he was elected to the General Court, one year, without opposition, and in 1773 he was one of the counsellors not negatived by the royal Governor.

to the summit of Mount Washington; and a venerable lady, the relict of a son, heard in her youth, that "Brigadier Preble had gone up and washed his hands in the clouds." In religion, he was an Episcopalian; but his minister, the Reverend John Wiswall, like almost every clergyman of that communion in New England, was an adherent of the crown, and continued his prayers for the King and royal family; which was so offensive to him, that, though the society had been gathered with trouble and amid opposition, he abandoned it, and joined another.*

* Nor must we neglect to say, that "the Brigadier" wooed the Muses. The following, if not the best effort of his pen that has been preserved, will still show that grave men, at a grave period, sometimes indulged in humor.

"The member from Newton
 No rules can control;
 His chiefest delight is
 In calling of roll.
 He's here and he's there,
 He comes in, he's called out,
 He disturbs the whole Senate
 By walking about.
 He never is idle,
 Works early and late,
 Despises the Tories,
 A friend to our state.
 Would he obey orders,
 And sit in his seat,
 He'd make up the number
 Of sixteen complete."

Who this uneasy "member from Newton" was, we are not informed.

EDWARD PREBLE, the subject of this biography, was born in that part of Falmouth now embraced within the limits of the city of Portland, August 15th, 1761. Blessed with an athletic constitution, and having little inclination for sedentary amusements, the leisure hours of his youth were mostly devoted to hunting and other active exercises. In the use of the gun he acquired great skill, and a story is told, that he once brought down five swallows singly, and at successive shots, on a wager. His father designed him for a professional life, and he was sent to Dummer Academy, in Byfield, at the proper age, to be fitted for college. He made some progress in the usual preparatory studies; but, while the effects of early culture are plainly discernible in his compositions in after life, close application to study was not suited to his temperament, and his proficiency was not remarkable. Still, the foundation for an education was laid, and, profiting by the opportunities for the acquisition of knowledge, which were open to him after school books were abandoned, he became, in the end, capable of communicating his thoughts and opinions in a style not only correct, but clear, comprehensive, and forcible.

That he was brave and spirited, and gave promise of resembling "the Brigadier," was

known while yet a lad. When about ten years of age, he desired to accompany his father and a small party of his friends upon an excursion to the islands near Portland, but was refused. Determined to go, and all other means failing, he resorted, at length, to pelting with small stones the occupants of the boat, among whom was his father; and he gained his point, on the ground, as it would seem, that he had the "right stuff" in him.

Near the time of this occurrence, his father hit upon a characteristic device to prove his courage. Before the revolution, Portland was the seat of a large trade in masts with the mother country. The mast ships of the north, like the tobacco ships of the south, oftentimes afforded the only means of communication between the colonies and England, and the royal governors were occasionally compelled to embark in them. They brought from England the merchandise required by the colonists, and the last fashions, and the last novel; and their arrival or departure was frequently the occasion of feasts and merry-makings.

Among the seamen of a mast ship, that came consigned to his father about the year 1771, was a Turk. Edward, having been guilty of some prank, was assured that the Mussulman should come with a bag, put him in it, and

carry him off. To the threat he replied, "I am not afraid, and shall not run." Of this the father meant to be certain; and he accordingly arranged that this strange looking and dark visaged man should make his appearance in the evening, and enter a room lighted only by a fire, and in which Edward and a brother should be alone. Accompanied by his captain, and in his national costume, the follower of the prophet presented himself bag in hand, and advanced to seize his victim; but the fearless boy caught a firebrand in the tongs, and, thrusting it into his assailant's face, compelled him to decamp. The father, who had stationed himself in an adjoining apartment, was satisfied.

Another incident of his youth, which still further evinces his insensibility to fear, must suffice. While at the academy, he had an affray with a school-fellow, and gave his antagonist a blow, which caused a considerable flow of blood. The discomfited one, fresh from the combat, presented himself to the preceptor, the celebrated Samuel Moody, and told his story. Mr. Moody sometimes lost his self-control, and could not, on this occasion, command himself. Grasping a fire-shovel, he advanced towards the culprit in a towering passion, and aimed repeated and violent blows, apparently at his head, which, however, and by design probably,

struck the desk. Edward remained immovable, in countenance and position, throughout. Erect, he calmly gazed at his pale and quivering master; who, soon becoming composed, turned away from his courageous pupil, and exclaimed, "That fellow will make a general!"

While Edward was at school, Falmouth was burned by the miscreant Mowatt. The General suffered a loss, by schedule, of upwards of twenty-five hundred pounds, and removed to a farm in the vicinity, where he continued to reside for several years. The family were there, when the youth returned from his studies, and, in common with his brothers, he was required to go into the field and labor. According to the family account, he rebelled when ordered, hoe in hand, to the drudgery of hoeing potatoes; and, declaring that he would do no more of such work, he suddenly threw down his hoe, and made the best of his way to Falmouth, where, before his father knew what had become of him, he entered on board of a privateer brig, belonging to Newburyport, commanded by Captain Friend,* then enlisting a

* Probably Captain William Friend, who lost the ship Neptune, of sixteen guns, by oversetting and sinking, near Newburyport bar, in August, 1777, and who, in 1781, was drowned at Boon Island. The family retain an account, that, prior to this, Edward joined a party of Whig troops

crew for a cruise. His age was about sixteen. He had previously desired to go to sea; but his father had opposed his wish, and now hoped, that, though he had embarked, one voyage would serve to cure the propensity, and induce him to choose some other pursuit. The privateer went to Europe, and, on the return passage, by reason of head winds and extreme cold, he had a severe experiment of the hardships of a sailor's life. But he bore all, was conspicuous for his good conduct, and continued resolutely bent on becoming a seaman.

In 1779, his father procured for him a midshipman's warrant in the Massachusetts state marine. It is not improbable, that the naval service of Congress would have been preferred, for various reasons, had a place been open to him. But the Continental establishment was small, and could not afford employment to all young seamen, nor, indeed, to all the gentlemen of age and experience who desired to serve upon the sea; and many of each description were compelled to enter on board of state vessels and privateers, or to remain on shore. The Massachusetts marine was, however, highly respectable,

sent to Falmouth, but that, owing to his tender age; his father would not allow him to remain, and procured his release.

and probably made itself more useful and active than that of any other state. Among its favorite commanders was John Foster Williams, who, at this time, was attached to the ship *Protector*, of twenty-six guns; and with him Preble commenced his career as an officer. Williams was well qualified to train the youth, who, from time to time, were placed under his care; for, in addition to a high reputation for nautical skill and personal courage, his scientific attainments were considerable, and his survey of a part of the New England coast is spoken of as being more correct, in some particulars, than that of the famous Des Barres.* Of Preble's bravery and general merits, while in the *Protector*, he always spoke in terms of strong commendation.

This ship sailed on a cruise soon after our midshipman joined her, and in June, 1779, engaged off Newfoundland the British letter of marque, the *Admiral Duff*, of thirty-six guns. The action was short, close, and hard fought, and was terminated, at about an hour after its commencement, by the *Duff's* taking fire and blowing up. Many of her crew jumped overboard, and fifty-five were saved by the boats of the *Protector*. Williams's loss in

* Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. Vol. VIII. p. 197.

killed and wounded was small; but a malignant fever soon after spread on board of his ship, and carried off a considerable part of his men. Before returning home, the Protector fell in with the Thames, a thirty-two gun frigate, and maintained a running fight for some time; but she escaped, and Williams went into port, landed his prisoners, and refitted.

The Protector, while at sea on a subsequent cruise or on a special service, was captured. Some of her officers were sent to England; but Preble was retained prisoner at New York, on board of the well remembered prison ship Jersey. It may not be easy to determine the exact truth with regard to the capture of the Protector, since some accounts state, that she was taken by a frigate and sloop of war, and others, that she formed one of Saltonstall's squadron in the Penobscot expedition, and shared the fate of most of the vessels of that officer's command.* But no ship of her name is to be found on the list of vessels that were engaged in that disastrous affair. And besides,

* Sketch of Preble by Dr. Kirkland. Cooper's *Naval History*, Vol. I. Williamson's *History of Maine*, Vol. II. p. 470. Notice of Preble in the *Encyc. Americana*. Cooper, in *Graham's Magazine* for May, 1845. Notice of Preble, supposed by Nathaniel Deering. Smith's *Journal*. Family account and papers.

Saltonstall's fleet was in force before Castine, in July, 1779, and was dispersed, and many of the vessels which composed it burned in the Penobscot near Bangor, and at other places high up the river, on the 14th and 15th of August of that year; whereas the Protector was still in service in 1780, and, on the 7th of April, Captain Williams in command, arrived at Falmouth, Maine, with General Wadsworth as a passenger, who had been appointed to command the eastern division of Massachusetts. Preble became a prisoner, therefore, subsequently to April, 1780. It was well for himself and for his country, that, while in the enemy's hands, he found a friend.

The American marine had become so annoying to the trade of the mother country, that to check privateering, the ministry resolved no longer to allow the usual exchange of prisoners taken upon the sea. This resolution was executed, and formed one of the most distressing circumstances of the contest. During the last three years of the war, vast numbers perished in a single prison ship, the Jersey, in which, it has been already remarked, Preble was confined. Among the loyalists, who had fled to New York, was Colonel William Tyng, the last royal sheriff of the county of Cumberland, and a friend and associate in arms

of General Preble. This gentleman belonged to one of the distinguished families of New England; his grandfather having been Governor of Annapolis, and his father having commanded the Massachusetts fleet in the expedition against Louisbourg, under Sir William Pepperell. Colonel Tyng possessed great purity of character, and benevolence of heart, and his kindness to the prisoners at New York should never cease to be remembered. He has been called another "Man of Ross." Certain it is, that he nourished the captives from his own resources, and as often as possible procured their release. And upon young Preble, who otherwise would have been friendless, and who fell sick and passed through a very dangerous fever, this conscientious adherent to the crown bestowed every attention, which could conduce to his comfort and recovery. To a Tory, therefore, to one of a class of men who have been too often indiscriminately condemned, it has justly been said, that, "under Providence, this country is indebted for the life of one, whose heroic achievements will never be forgotten."*

Restored to his friends through Tyng's instrumentality, after an absence of nearly a year, Preble joined the Winthrop, another Massachu

* Mass. Hist. Coll. Vol. X. p. 185.

setts state ship, under Captain George Little, who had been first lieutenant of the Protector, and was subsequently a captain in the navy of the United States.

Preble was first lieutenant of the Winthrop. This vessel rendered great service in protecting our trade, and in making prizes of privateers under the royal flag. One of Preble's exploits, while attached to this ship, deserves particular notice. While cruising in the waters of Maine, Captain Little captured an American sloop, which an English armed brig had previously taken and fitted as a tender and cruiser. From persons on board of the sloop, it was ascertained that the brig lay at anchor near Castine, and under cover of the guns of the British post there. But, though thus apparently beyond the reach of an assailing force, the design was formed to run the Winthrop alongside in the night, and carry her by surprise. Preble was to lead the party of boarders, to consist of forty picked men, dressed in white frocks, that friend might be distinguished from foe. The bold measure was successfully executed. The Winthrop made good her part of the enterprise, so far as to allow her first lieutenant and fourteen of his force to gain the deck of the brig; but her way was so rapid, and she passed the brig so quickly, that

the remaining twenty-six were unable to leap on board and join him; and he was thus left to contend with his enemy as he best could. Little, however, called to his officer to know if he would have more men. "No," was Preble's cool reply, "we have more than we want; we stand in each other's way." Deceived, probably, by this declaration, the crew of the brig were panic stricken, and some of them leaped overboard; while the officers were instantly sought in the cabin by Preble in person, who assured them, that, as resistance would be vain, submission alone would save their lives.* The prize having been secured, the difficult duty of working her out to sea, under a severe fire from the shore, remained, but was gallantly accomplished, and she was safely taken to Boston.

This daring deed excited much admiration at the time, and obtained for its chief actor the reputation of possessing undaunted courage and great presence of mind; qualities of character, in which, as will appear in his after life, and on a broader theatre, few men have ever excelled him.

* Exaggerated accounts of this affair are extant; and the brig is represented as "of more than equal force" to the Winthrop; while an impression is given, that the *sloop*, not the Winthrop, went alongside the brig.

At the peace, the marine of Massachusetts, in common with that of other states, was no longer required for the purposes for which it was created, and its officers were generally dismissed, a few vessels and officers only being retained to protect the revenue. Preble, still devoted to the sea, after leaving the Winthrop, sought employment in the merchant service. He was now about twenty-two years of age. A year later, in 1784, he mourned the loss of his father. His mother, a woman who looked well to her own proper duties, charitable and kind to the sorrowing, skilful in business, and competent to manage her husband's concerns, and even to accumulate property, while he was abroad in military and civil stations, and of a commanding presence, survived her husband until 1805, when her son's fame had risen to its full splendor.

CHAPTER II.

Preble in the Merchant Service. — Appointed a Lieutenant in the United States Navy. — Commands the Pickering. — Appointed a Captain. — Sails to the East Indies in the Essex. — Returns. — Navy reduced. — Ordered to join Truxtun. — His Marriage. — Ordered to the Adams. — Ill Health. — On Furlough. — Returns to the Service.

OF about fifteen years of Preble's life I can give the reader but a passing and an imperfect account. This period was devoted principally to commercial pursuits. The names of several schooners, brigs, and ships, which he commanded, in which he went abroad as supercargo, or in which he had an interest as owner or shipper, are preserved in the few business letters and accounts that now remain. To indicate his employments for the whole of these years with accuracy, is hardly possible. Yet it may be stated with certainty that he visited several parts of the world, and that sometimes he remained in foreign countries as a resident mercantile agent of the American house with which he was connected; and that, at other times, he was engaged in trading voyages along

our own coast, and to the British colonies. I find that he resided for a time in Spain, where he was intrusted with consignments of vessels and merchandise, and where it would appear that, in other respects, he performed the ordinary business of a commission merchant. Again we trace him in the West Indies; and his papers show, that he was there engaged in various mercantile transactions. Yet again, we glean from his correspondence the fact, that he made a voyage to Africa, and that the speculation was unfortunate, principally, if not entirely, because of his conscientious objection to invest his outward cargo in slaves. As the fifteen years close, we learn, that, while upon his last foreign enterprise, he was captured by a French pirate, plundered of his property, and detained for several months.

The recollections of surviving friends enable us further to state, that, while his personal expenditures were by no means unfavorable to the accumulation of property, while his activity was ceaseless, and his industry highly praiseworthy, and even remarkable, his fortune in 1798 was scarcely better than in 1783. To this, various circumstances had contributed; for, besides the losses arising from his refusal to barter fabrics for men, women, and children, and from captivity, his open-handed liberality,

for which he was distinguished through life, was sufficient to absorb no inconsiderable share of his gains and earnings. His poverty was entirely honorable; and they, who remember him when he was between the ages of twenty-two and thirty-seven years, recall to their minds a fine-looking, frank, and generous seaman, of a decided tone and hasty temper.

The troubles with France, towards the close of the last century, brought Preble into public life a second time. Prior to that period, though we possessed a few ships of war, it can hardly be said that we had an organized naval establishment. In the preparations to meet the emergency, five lieutenants were added to the service, of whom he was one. His commission bears date January 17th, 1799; but he was to take rank from the 9th of April, 1798. Three days after the latter date, James McHenry, the Secretary at War, communicated the fact of his appointment as a first lieutenant in the navy of the United States, to serve on board the frigate *Constitution*, of which Samuel Nicholson was captain and commander. As by the rank of the captain under whom they were ordered to serve, it is presumed that the particular rank of each of these lieutenants was to be determined, and as Barry was Nicholson's only senior, Preble stood, by this

arrangement, second on the list of lieutenants.

Though he joined the *Constitution*, he did not serve in her. After a short leave to attend to his private affairs, he obtained command of the *Pickering*. This was his first active duty, after entering the national marine. His order to assume charge of that vessel is dated in January, 1799. There were no revenue cutters, properly so called, belonging to the treasury at this period; and the *Pickering*, and several other of the smaller vessels of the navy, were employed on that service. She was a brig of one hundred and eighty-seven tons, mounted fourteen guns, carried seventy men, and was built under contract at Boston.*

The circumstances of the country required all of its armed vessels for cruising. Advised, when placed in charge of the *Pickering*, that she would probably be transferred from the treasury to the naval establishment, he was ordered, on the 17th of January, to proceed without delay to the Island of Dominica, in the West Indies, and maintain a position in the vicinity of Prince Rupert's Bay, until joined by Commodore Barry in the frigate *United States*, when he was to place himself under

* American State Papers, Vol. XIV. pp. 58, 59, 149.

that officer's direction. He was authorized to capture French armed vessels, whether found at sea or elsewhere, to recapture the prizes made by the French, and also to seize upon a class of vessels, that, acting without commission, had preyed upon our commerce in the Caribbean Sea. But he was forbidden to interfere to prevent the capture of American vessels by ships of any other European power, even though the attempt were made in his sight; while he was to suffer all vessels of our flag, prizes to the belligerent nations, to pass without recapture. Such was the tenor of his somewhat singular instructions. Few incidents of Preble's life, while he was attached to Barry's squadron on the West India station, are known. He may have remained in the Pickering a year, and have made two cruises, before his promotion.*

He was commissioned a captain June 7th, 1799, to take rank from the 15th of the preceding month. To this place on the list, in the common course of things, he may not have been strictly entitled; and it is not improbable, that it was given as an inducement for him to continue in the service, from which, it is

* Captain Hillar succeeded him in the Pickering. In August, 1800 he and all on board of that ship perished at sea.

known, he thought of retiring. The Secretary alluded to the circumstance in communicating the appointment, and hoped that he would accept it, and remain in the navy; for said he, "you may justly expect to rank high, and soon to get a good ship."

This intimation of being placed in a good ship was followed by a corresponding act; for while Rodgers, who was Preble's senior, only obtained a sloop of war, the *Maryland*, the latter was put in command of the frigate *Essex*, then new, and fitting for her first cruise. A few months prior to his promotion, the merchants of Boston and Salem, who were building a frigate, had solicited him, through their committee, Thomas H. Perkins chairman, to allow them to name him to the department as her commander. In his reply to Colonel Perkins, he declined the honor, and announced that pressing engagements would soon compel him to return to private life. Happily, the intention was abandoned, and he joined the *Essex*.*

He sailed in company with the frigate *Congress*, Captain Sever, on a cruise to the East

* This frigate was built at Salem, and Commodore Preble first took charge of her at that place, before her rigging was completed. The cost was paid by a subscription from the merchants, who received government stock for the money they advanced.

Indies, in January, 1800. Soon after leaving port, both ships encountered a heavy gale, in which they parted, and the Congress, unknown to the other, was dismasted. Captain Sever returned to port; but Preble pursued his way, and arrived safely at the Cape of Good Hope, where he waited for some time the arrival of his consort, of whose disaster he had continued ignorant. The Congress not appearing, he proceeded to accomplish alone the object for which the two ships were despatched. This object was principally to meet, and to convoy home, a fleet of American Indiamen. Fourteen sail of vessels, engaged in the China and other Eastern trade, with cargoes valued at several millions of dollars, were accordingly protected and conducted to points of safety. He continued in the India seas several months while collecting his convoy; but not many incidents of his cruise worthy of record have been preserved. An instance of his humanity, however, may not be suffered to pass without notice. A gentleman of the name of Hall, of the brig Sally, from circumstances supposed not to have been an American, who was sick, and whose vessel was in a most distressed condition, was received into the cabin of the Essex, where, to use the sufferer's own words, his "preserver treated him with attention surpassing parental

care." Hall's letter is full of expressions of gratitude, and closes with the declaration, that the writer's happiest moments will be those in which he should think of "the name of Preble," of the man who saved his life. The service rendered to a Mr. Robert Brooke, who was probably a foreigner, at St. Helena, also drew forth a communication of respectful acknowledgment.

No public ship of the United States had made so distant a voyage; and it was the young captain's fortune to have been the first to show the American flag flying from the mast of a public vessel east of the Cape of Good Hope. He returned near the close of 1800. In 1801, the difficulties with France having been adjusted, the navy was reduced. An order, dated the 1st of April of that year, was addressed to him at New York, which advised him, that, by the act recently passed, the number of captains was diminished to nine, the lieutenants to thirty-six, and the midshipmen to one hundred and fifty; and that, of the officers retained, the President had been pleased to select him as one of the captains. This order also directed him to repair without delay to the *Essex*, and, preparing her for a cruise of twelve months, to join a squadron

under the command of Commodore Truxtun at Hampton Roads.

Though the law authorized the retention of but nine captains, the number for a time was twelve. Of these, Barry, Nicholson, Dale, Truxtun, Morris, Murray, Samuel Barron, and Rodgers, were his seniors; and James Barron, Bainbridge, and Campbell, were his juniors. Before the reduction, Preble was the twenty-first captain; he was now the ninth, but became the fifth in 1804. While abroad, he was dangerously sick of a fever, and returned in precarious health. From the effects of this sickness he never recovered. Repose was indispensable; and he should have sought it from the moment of his arrival in the United States. But, in accordance with his instructions, he fitted the *Essex* for sea, and proceeded to Norfolk, where he was compelled to relinquish the command, and yield to the demands of nature for rest. During the year 1801, he married Mary, the only daughter of Nathaniel Deering, of Portland, a gentleman of respectability, and of an ancient name; and from whom Mrs. Preble and James Deering, his only son, derived a handsome fortune.

On the 12th of January, 1802, he was appointed to the frigate *Adams*, of twenty-eight guns, then fitting for the Mediterranean. Too

feeble for the duty, he tendered his resignation.

Mr. Stoddert had now vacated his post at the head of the navy department, and Mr. Robert Smith had succeeded him. The latter continued in office beyond the term of Preble's life, and survived him many years. A most affectionate intercourse seems to have existed between them, from the first to the last hour of their official relation.

Mr. Smith declined to receive the commission "of a gentleman possessing such high qualifications to advance and maintain our naval character," offered to him under circumstances which "irresistibly excited sensations of sympathy and regret;" but he continued, "to insist upon your retaining command of the Adams would be an act of inhumanity, which no state necessity scarcely could justify. You will, therefore, consider yourself hereby released from the command of the Adams, and on furlough, until your health shall be restored; and I pray you to accept of my sincere wishes for its speedy restoration." Though his pecuniary situation placed him at ease, he decided to forego, a second time, the resolution to leave the navy. Rest, freedom from care, and more than all, a home, so far alleviated his complaint and restored his strength, that, in the spring of

the following year, he considered himself able to resume active duty. Yet he was not well. From the time of his return in the Essex until his latest hour, he was a stranger to the enjoyment of sound health. Henceforth, then, we are to trace the course of a man, who, though gradually sinking under bodily infirmity, and beset with difficulties and discouragements, bore himself honorably throughout a most anxious and responsible command.

CHAPTER III.

Ordered to equip the Constitution for Sea, and to command a Squadron against the States of Barbary. — His Force. — Sails from Boston. — Arrives at Gibraltar. — Difficulties with Morocco arranged. — Tripoli declared in a State of Blockade. — Frigate Philadelphia captured. — General Operations of the Squadron.

IN a picture, the most important objects occupy the foreground. The biographer should be guided by the rules of the painter. The professional services, which we are now to notice, were the most brilliant of Preble's life, and will be related with a corresponding minuteness.

On the 14th of May, 1803, the Secretary of the Navy directed him to assume the charge of the frigate *Constitution*, then at Boston, and to place her in a condition to sail at the earliest possible time. A week later, he was advised of the views of the government in equipping that ship, again urged to all practicable despatch, and informed that the President had determined to intrust to his command a squadron destined to act against the states of Barbary.

These states, generally, evinced a hostile disposition, while Tripoli, in an especial manner, had been at open war with our flag for two years; and two squadrons had already been sent to the Mediterranean, to effect a renewal of amicable relations. The first was under the command of Commodore Richard Dale, an officer whose name is most honorably associated with some of the daring exploits of the celebrated Paul Jones. But, left without adequate support from his government, restricted in his operations by its timid policy, and restrained by its positive instructions, he was not able to make either an effective or offensive demonstration; and, after his return to the United States, he retired to his residence at Philadelphia, and, soon resigning, appeared in no further active duty during the remainder of his

life. Commodore Thomas Truxtun, another worthy officer of the revolution, was designated to succeed Dale; but, in adjusting some details respecting the flagship, a difference occurred with the department, which terminated in his leaving the navy.

Commodore Richard V. Morris, a son of Lewis Morris, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, accepted the vacant post, and proceeded with a second, and very considerable and well appointed force to the coasts of Barbary. No opinion is meant to be expressed of his merits; but it may be remarked, that his conduct was highly displeasing to the administration, and that he was superseded before Preble's departure, and a few months after was dismissed from the service without the formality of a trial. The ships that were to be placed at the disposal of the new commodore were to constitute, therefore, the third American squadron to the Mediterranean since July, 1801.

While Preble's command was but little superior to Dale's, it was much inferior in every point to that under Morris. It has been commonly said, that the administration at this juncture resolved upon a more vigorous course of action, than it had hitherto pursued, and that, roused by previous disappointments, it

determined to furnish the officer, now chosen to execute its purposes, with sufficient means to reduce the Barbary powers to terms. But proof of such a disposition is hardly to be found. The government, and the political party which it represented, continued to regard the navy with indifference, if not dislike. The Secretary was an amiable and courteous gentleman, and his correspondence with Preble evinces all proper, and indeed highly laudable exertions to meet his wishes; but yet it affords abundant evidence of the narrow policy of the time; and that functionary, without funds provided by law, and at his command, to equip speedily and efficiently a force, was compelled to decisions and suggestions, which, in his private judgment, he probably considered wrong. Preble himself seems to have entertained no serious misgivings of success when fitting for sea; but there is much to show, that, after his arrival at the scene of his duties, and when the difficulties and responsibilities of his position were fully comprehended, his mental anguish was excessive.

The Constitution required extensive repairs. It was found necessary to put new copper on her bottom; and, there being no docks, the slow and dangerous process of heaving down with tackles, was the only method by which

it could be accomplished. In this case, the process was more than ordinarily tedious, because Preble, unwilling to submit to the extravagant price demanded for the use of vessels, prepared a wharf for the purpose, which, he said, though the occasion of delay and much labor, had not been one third of the expense of vessels, and would serve for twenty other ships in succession without further outlay. Besides this, the fishermen were absent upon the fishing grounds, other seamen were scarce, and the Secretary, against Preble's remonstrances, offered less wages than the government had paid previously, and a third less than was given in the merchant service. The officer, who had charge of the boats at the navy yard, had suffered them to lie upon the ground without cover or paint for nearly two years, and they were spoiled, and new ones were to be procured. The cannon and shot had been left exposed to the weather, and were in bad order. The decks and sides of the vessels were found to be open, and were to be calked. The cabin furniture had not been cared for, had been lost, used by persons who had no right to it, or destroyed, and was to be replaced. The powder was ascertained to be damp, and was to be dried and sifted; and, to prevent damage in future, the magazine was to be lined with copper.

These and various other preparations, most of which were made only after correspondence with the department, and which show how miserably defective was the naval organization of the period, kept the flagship at Boston until the 13th of August, at which time she dropped down to the President's Roads, and the next day went to sea. Colonel Tobias Lear, who had been appointed Consul at Algiers, and his family, were passengers. As all the ships sailed as soon as they were ready, some preceded the Constitution, and arrived at Gibraltar, the port of rendezvous, before her. Preble anchored there on the 12th of September, for the first time; but the squadron was not complete until the close of October.

Captain Rodgers, of the John Adams, on the recall of Commodore Morris, had succeeded temporarily to the command of the second squadron, and, with his broad pennant flying on board of the New York, was still in the Mediterranean on Preble's arrival. Though advised that his charge would soon be transferred to another, his feelings were deeply wounded on seeing a commodore's pennant hoisted by his successor from the Constitution; and Preble addressed to him a kind and considerate letter upon the subject. This communication seems to have produced a happy result, since Rodgers

subsequently afforded Preble every possible assistance until his departure for the United States; and in arranging the difficulties with Morocco, of which we are first to speak, he was of essential service, having waved all points of rank, and magnanimously consented to act as a junior officer.

The flagship of the third squadron reached Gibraltar at a fortunate moment. When leaving home, Preble's destination was Tripoli; but he found our relations with Morocco in a state that required prompt and immediate attention, to prevent extremities. On his passage, near Cape St. Vincent, he had fallen in with a cruiser of that kingdom, the Maimona, of thirty guns and one hundred and fifty men; but, with no knowledge of hostile intentions on the part of the Emperor, he had examined her papers and allowed her to proceed. Circumstances now satisfied him, that she was at sea with orders to prey upon our commerce. As early as May, the John Adams had captured the Mishouda, a ship claimed by the Emperor as his property, for attempting to enter Tripoli with articles of contraband, such as guns, cutlasses, and hemp, besides twenty subjects of Tripoli; while in August, Bainbridge, in the Philadelphia, had made prize of another of his vessels, the Mirboka, of twenty-two

guns and ninety-eight men, which cruiser had captured, and had then in company, the brig Celia, Bowen master, of Boston. And he was met with advices from our Consul at Tangiers, that the brig Hannah, Williams master, of Salem, had just been seized at Mogadore, that her crew were retained prisoners, and that the Consul himself was confined under sentinels at his own house.

“Cringing to these fellows,” said Preble, “will never do;” and, at once issuing orders to detain and send to Gibraltar all Moorish ships, and informing our Secretary of State of his reasons for the hostile procedure, he sailed directly for Tangiers, with an overawing force, consisting of the Constitution, New York, John Adams, and Nautilus, and arrived on the 6th of October. His officers, to most of whom he was an entire stranger, and his Majesty of Morocco, “a very positive and strong headed gentleman,” soon learned something of the spirit, energy, and decision, with which affairs were to be conducted. Every ship was kept clear for instant battle, every man was required to keep at quarters, and a determination was expressed, that, the barbarian prince should submit promptly by negotiation, or feel the effects of the frigates’ batteries. His first communication with the Emperor promised so favorable

results, that, to evince his readiness to effect a peaceful accommodation, he directed the Constitution to be dressed, and a salute to be fired in compliment. The salute was returned; a present of bullocks, sheep, and fowls, was sent off for the Commodore's acceptance, and his Majesty, with a telescope, and attended by his court and army, appeared at a battery on the mole or beach, to view the ships of this courteous but "quite positive Christian," who bade him choose between a parley and a fight. Desire for an accommodation continued to be manifested, and the Emperor assigned a day for an interview with the Commodore at the Castle. At the time appointed, Preble, directing the officer whom he left in command to fire upon the town if he should be forcibly detained, and to enter into no treaty for his release, landed, and was conducted to the royal presence, when every subject of difficulty was arranged. His Majesty promised to renew and ratify with his own seal the treaty made with his father in 1786; he signified his regret that any differences had arisen between the two nations, disavowed having given orders to molest our flag, and declared that his governors, who had done it, should be punished, and agreed to a mutual restoration of captured persons and property. He assured Preble, moreover, that

his Prime Minister, with whom he should have a conference, would have his sanction and his signet to whatever arrangement he might conclude, upon matters not embraced in the treaty now recognized and confirmed anew, and in other respects conducted himself in a most friendly and satisfactory manner. The promised conference was not only held, but a second; and both were on friendly terms. At the last conference, the minister formally presented the ratification of the ancient instrument of peace, and a letter from the Emperor, addressed to the President.

The whole time occupied in this negotiation was eight days; the Nautilus and John Adams having departed on other service on the 13th, the New York on the 14th, and the Constitution having exchanged farewell salutes, and sailed for Gibraltar, the day after.

Preble had good advisers; and the fact, that he was assisted by the discretion and judgment of Captain Rodgers, Colonel Lear, and Mr. Simpson, our Consul at Tangiers, is cheerfully acknowledged. Still it is to be considered, that the Consul communicated an extract from his instructions, which gave authority to buy and pay for the good will of Morocco, with a sum of money in the hands of Commodore Morris, on whom he had liberty to draw

for a certain amount. It is greatly to the credit of Mr. Simpson, that, instead of consenting to yield tribute, he preferred to await the course of events, and the arrival of an American commander of too decided a tone, to submit to the disgraceful practice. Preble's sentiments, and the pith of a long correspondence with various functionaries of our government upon the affairs so happily adjusted, are clearly indicated in the following extract from a letter addressed to the Secretary of the navy.

“The Christian powers will have no chance with these people until they determine never to pay tribute, or supply them with military or naval stores, or ships. They send out their cruisers, and, if successful, *it is war*; and we must purchase peace, suffering them to keep all they have taken. But, if they are unfortunate, and we capture their cruisers before they have taken anything valuable, *it is not war*, although the orders to make prize of our vessels are found on board; and we must restore all we take from them, which enables them to commence again. I know not how long we shall be obliged to submit to this sort of treatment. The Bey of Tunis has refused to receive Mr. Cathcart, and positively demands a frigate. Should that demand be acceded to,

it will require another frigate on our own account to watch her motions."

While in Tangiers Bay, the Constitution lost a stream cable and an anchor; and, having parted a bower cable twice, and being unable to procure water at Gibraltar in consequence of the great quantity required by the British fleet, she went to Cadiz towards the close of October, where she was compelled to remain several days before the objects of the visit could be accomplished. And, before she could show herself off Tripoli, duty required Preble to land Colonel Lear at Algiers, to which power, it has already been remarked, that gentleman had been appointed Consul-General. Calling at Tangiers Bay on his return from Cadiz, to communicate with Mr. Simpson, and "to let the Moors know that he had not forgotten them," he repaired again to Gibraltar, the port of general rendezvous for the squadron. The Argus, for which vessel he had entertained apprehensions, and the latest vessel to join him, had now arrived; the John Adams and New York had sailed for the United States; and with his own proper command complete, he was now at liberty to enter upon the more serious duty, with which he was specially charged on leaving home.

His first act was to declare Tripoli in a

state of blockade ; and, on the 12th of November, proper notice thereof was transmitted to the American ministers at London, Paris, and Madrid, and to several of our consuls in Europe, for general promulgation. But the season was too far advanced for active operations against that power, and the winter was to be passed in pressing as close a blockade as the weather would allow, and in preparations for an attack upon the town at the earliest moment the following year. A most calamitous and unexpected event, however, occurred to derange his plans.

On the 24th of November, while bound to the Tripolitan coast with the Nautilus, the Constitution spoke an English frigate off Sardinia, that reported the loss of the Philadelphia, his only frigate, the flagship excepted, on the rocks of Tripoli. He returned immediately to Malta for further intelligence, and there found letters from Bainbridge, which confirmed and gave the particulars of the disaster. The accident happened on the 31st of October, near the town, and just as the Philadelphia was abandoning the chase of a Tripolitan cruiser bound in, and was hauling off into deep water. Hours were passed in attempting to force her over, or back her off, and in throwing over guns, water, and various other articles,

to lighten her. The most strenuous and long continued exertions were without avail.

Her position in the water did not allow of any considerable resistance to the enemy's gunboats, which soon surrounded and attacked her on every quarter; and Bainbridge, with the concurrence of his officers, who deemed further delay or opposition to be fruitless, ordered his flag to be lowered; hoping, as directions had been given to injure her bottom by the boring of holes, that she would be of no service to the captors. But several circumstances favored the Tripolitans, who immediately adopted measures to get her afloat; and in a few days they succeeded in bringing her up to the city, and in mooring her near the Bashaw's Castle. Had the order for scuttling her been well executed, it is not improbable that she would have gone to pieces on the spot where she was surrendered. As it was, the Tripolitans not only gained the frigate, but recovered the principal and most valuable articles, that had been thrown overboard after she struck and before the capture.

The loss of this ship caused Preble much anxiety. It "distresses me beyond description," said he, on the 10th of December, when enclosing to the navy department Bainbridge's official account. It may well have done so.

To be deprived of nearly one third part of his force, already far too small, to feel that his enemy was strengthened in nearly the degree that his own power of annoyance was diminished, and that, in addition to the common and expected difficulties of effecting an honorable peace, the separate and unexpected question of the ransom of the officers and crew of the ill fated frigate was to be met, discussed, and finally disposed of; these circumstances presented no very agreeable topics for reflection.

In closing our brief record of the occurrences of the year 1803, it remains to show the particular service which was performed by each vessel of the little squadron. It will be seen, that the Commodore overstated in nothing, when he assured the Secretary, that he was "confident, that more active exertions have never been used by the same number of ships and vessels of any nation," than by those under his command upon that station.

It has been said that the Constitution arrived at Gibraltar on the 12th of September, and that the Philadelphia, preceding her, had sailed upon a cruise in August, and captured the Morocco ship of war the Mirboka. On the 16th of September, Bainbridge, in that frigate, was ordered to convoy from the Bay of Gibraltar, and from Malaga, to such part of the

Mediterranean as was necessary, whatever American vessels might join him for the purpose; to pass near Capes de Gat, Palos, and Martin, "looking in at the snug places along the coast;" and, if no Tripolitan cruisers were seen or heard of, on reaching Cape Martin, to proceed to Malta, and land all unnecessary spars and lumber, and, staying at Malta only twenty-four hours, thence to take up a station as a blockading ship off Tripoli, and annoy the enemy as much as possible. The Vixen, under Smith, was at the same time directed to accompany him, and act under his orders as a consort; and both commanders were further required to detain and send to Gibraltar all vessels, that they might meet with, belonging to Morocco. On that day, also, the Nautilus, under Somers, was sent to Malaga on convoy duty, with similar instructions as to the detention of the Moorish flag.

On the 19th of that month, the Nautilus was further ordered to look into Tangiers Bay, and, if the Constitution was not there, to continue on to Larach, Sallee, and Mogadore, and cruise off the latter place three weeks. The same day, the Siren, commanded by Stewart, was directed to follow the same course of duty to Mogadore, and thence stretch to Cape Spartel in search of the Maimona, which vessel, it will

be recollected, Preble had examined and suffered to pass, on his passage out. "It will be a glorious thing for you to take her;" so runs the letter to Stewart; and "you can easily do it, if you meet with her; and my orders are, that you make the attempt." Continuing at sea, the *Siren* was to cruise between Cape Spartel and Mogadore ten days, and, not finding the flagship, to return to the Bay of Gibraltar; prepare with all possible expedition to sail again; and, after passing ten days between Capes de Gat and Martin, and making no prizes of Tripolitan or Moorish vessels, proceed to Malta to water and gain information, join, and remain with the *Philadelphia* and *Vixen* in the blockade as long as safety would allow. Moreover, the Commodore said, "I expect that you will go out occasionally, and show yourself off Tripoli, even in that season when the weather is most severe, as it will have a good effect."

On the arrival of the *Argus* and *Enterprise* at Gibraltar, *Hull* and *Decatur* were instructed, after exchanging commands, to pursue a similar line of duty; but information obtained of the disposition of Morocco, later in September, induced a change; and both vessels were subsequently ordered off Tangiers Bay, Cape Spartel, Larach, Sallee, and Mogadore, for the

double purpose of capturing the vessels of that power, and of speaking with and warning our own of its hostile proceedings.

The operations of the month of October include those before Morocco, already mentioned. In addition, on the 3d, the *Siren* was despatched from Gibraltar, to convoy the American merchant vessels to a safe distance, twenty leagues west of Cape Spartel, and then to join the *Constitution* in the Bay of Tangiers. On the 12th, the order to the different commanders to make prize of the vessels of his Moorish Majesty was countermanded; and on the 15th, the various consuls were advised of the restoration of peace. As a consequence of this event, the *Enterprise*, yet in charge of Hull, was directed to leave her station, and repair to Gibraltar. The *Nautilus*, on the 12th, was sent to Mogadore with the proper documents to obtain the release of the Salem brig, the *Hannah*, and, calling at Tangiers, she was to return to Gibraltar, the common place of rendezvous. To the *Siren* was assigned the duty of convoying our flag to the eastward, and to the several ports of destination; and, having done this, she was to land our Consul, Mr. Cathcart, at Leghorn, who, on arriving there, would deliver money and other property of the United States, which Stewart

would carry to the Consul-General at Algiers, and then join the squadron off Tripoli.

In November, previous activity was hardly diminished, though a month of storms and gales. Hull, now transferred to the *Argus*, was required to watch Morocco, to show himself along its coasts, and communicate with Mr. Simpson at Tangiers. And besides, he was to "repel the first aggression on the part of the Moors, with the greatest promptitude;" for, said the Commodore, "an ascendancy can only be obtained over these, or any other barbarians, by a determined mode of conduct towards them." And he was further instructed to afford convoy as far as Capè Martin; to keep a good look out, and cruise off Cape de Gat; to rendezvous occasionally at Cadiz and Malaga; and, should a frigate arrive from the United States to reinforce the squadron, he was to take the despatches she might bring, and join the flagship off Tripoli. The *Enterprise*, after giving the provision ship *Traveller* safe convoy to Syracuse, and not finding the *Constitution*, was ordered to seek the *Philadelphia* and *Vixen*, and to continue to aid in the blockade until the weather made cruising dangerous; but yet, "in the worst season," to appear before Tripoli, "if for only a day or two at a time." The *Nautilus*, except in the matter of

convoy, was designated for the same service as the *Enterprise*, and specially charged to show herself to the Tripolitans occasionally; for "those barbarians should know, that their vessels are not safe in leaving port at any season of the year."

The squadron was still kept at sea in December; its situation on the 10th of that month was as follows. The *Constitution* and *Enterprise* were under way at Syracuse for a cruise off Tripoli; the *Nautilus*, *Siren*, and *Argus*, were absent on the duty last assigned to them; and the *Vixen*, in charge of the despatches which were to announce to our government the loss of the *Philadelphia*, was on her way to Gibraltar, with directions to return immediately to Syracuse; which place Preble, for various reasons, had determined to make his future rendezvous. New orders were issued to the commanders of the *Nautilus* and *Vixen* two days after; and the first was to proceed from Syracuse to Gibraltar, there deliver to the Consul Gavino the public papers intrusted to him, and then, returning to Syracuse, to take in wood, water, and provision for a cruise; while Smith, of the latter vessel, was sent on convoy duty; after finishing which he was to touch at Malta for information of our affairs with Tripoli, take on board the stores of the *Philadelphia*, and other property of the squad-

ron, and, repairing to the port of departure, prepare for sailing again. Anxious to learn something of Bainbridge and his comrades in captivity, the Commodore parted from the Enterprise, his consort, on the 19th, to visit Malta for letters; the Constitution awaiting, meanwhile, her arrival off that island.

An example of Preble's vigorous and comprehensive style, in communicating his wishes to his officers, should not be omitted; and a specimen is here given in a letter to Lieutenant Hull, in the Argus.

"United States Ship Constitution,
Syracuse Harbor, December 10th, 1803.

"SIR,

"Before you receive this, you will have heard of the loss of the Philadelphia, with all the distressing and mortifying circumstances.

"I shall want your services in the spring, and hope you will be relieved, so as to join me early in April. I have made an establishment at this place, which I find well calculated for it. Write me often. Send me all the news and newspapers. Tell me how Morocco stands affected, and what condition her cruisers are in. Direct your letters to me at Malta, and keep a good look out on your station.

"I am, Sir with regard, &c.,

"EDWARD PREBLE."

Nor, while imposing the severe and constant duty on others, which we have summarily related, was Preble himself idle. The Constitution, to use his own pithy expression, was "kept on the fly." He was at Gibraltar Bay on the 16th of September, at Tangiers Bay on the 9th of October, and again at Gibraltar on the 18th of that month. On the 19th of November, he was in the Bay of Algiers, and off Malta the 26th. He was at Syracuse on the 1st of December, and off Malta again on the 19th. Of his appearance before Tripoli no further mention needs be made. We conclude, then, our account of his course of procedure with the vessels under his command, from September to the close of the year; remarking, that the *Mastico*, a Tripolitan ketch, with seventy persons on board, among whom were two Tripolitan officers of distinction, a son of one of the officers, and a number of soldiers, was captured on the 23d of December, and sent to Syracuse. This little vessel, subsequently appraised and taken into service, and known as the *Intrepid*, will ever find a place in our naval annals.

CHAPTER IV.

Situation of the Squadron. — The Frigate Philadelphia burned. — General Operations. — Tunis evinces hostile Dispositions. — Preparations to attack Tripoli. — Preble borrows Gunboats and Bomb-vessels of the King of Naples. — Squadron ready to proceed against Tripoli, and assembles in Force off the City.

IN January, 1804, leaving the Constitution and some other vessels of the squadron at Syracuse, Preble went to Malta in the Vixen, for the purpose of procuring a translation of the documents found on board of the prize Mastico, to obtain some boats for light cruisers, and to forward letters and a supply of stores to Bainbridge and his fellow-prisoners at Tripoli.

Previous to his departure, orders were given which would keep every man in port active during his absence. Stewart was directed to prepare the Siren for a cruise of six weeks; a course of guard duty was marked out, to be rigidly observed, by which each ship was to perform that service in rotation; and the Constitution and Enterprise were to be placed in perfect order. Both of these vessels required

attention, and the latter, indeed, upon a careful examination, was pronounced to be too weak and rotten to be trusted at sea during the inclement season.

The *Argus* had returned to Gibraltar for the objects already stated, and was to be absent for several months on the station assigned to her, until she should be relieved by a ship from the United States; although, after the loss of the *Philadelphia*, she was much needed elsewhere. She was a beautiful vessel, of a fine model, and, in Preble's opinion, would not only sail a third faster than either the *Siren* or the *Vixen*, but was, in every respect, the best vessel then in the navy for cruising in the Mediterranean seas. As the *Enterprise* would be compelled to remain in port until April, the effective force against Tripoli, to maintain the blockade, and for the various other duties, was reduced for the winter to the *Constitution*, *Siren*, *Vixen*, and *Nautilus*. The *Siren* was in good condition, as, in addition to some repairs, her rigging had been refitted, and her main-mast placed further aft, to improve her sailing. Towards the close of the month, it was known that not a Tripolitan vessel had dared to put to sea, and that none was out; but still, that nothing might be omitted, even in midwinter, and that Tunis, Tripoli, and Morocco,

might all be strictly watched, Stewart and Smith were ordered to hold the *Siren* and *Vixen* in readiness to brave anew the perils of the coast, at "a moment's warning." The former, however, was soon wanted to aid in the memorable exploit of burning the *Philadelphia*.

This far-famed enterprise was executed soon after Preble's return from Malta. There has been some discussion and difference of opinion, as to the origin of the plan for destroying that ship; and the honor has been claimed for Bainbridge and Decatur, but more generally for the former. That both of these gentlemen conceived the design, is readily admitted; but that Preble was indebted to either of them for the original idea of depriving the Bashaw of the benefits arising from the capture, is denied; for there appears to be ample proof, that the merit of devising the project, without communication from or with any person, belongs to the Commodore himself, quite as certainly as does that of maturing the plan, that of fixing upon the principal details, and that of assuming the high responsibility of despatching a force for its execution. The limits of this memoir forbid an argument founded upon facts, dates, and circumstances; and the case is submitted to the reader upon Preble's own positive and repeated declarations.

In announcing the loss of the frigate, and in communicating to the department Bainbridge's official account, on the 10th of December, he said, "I do not believe the Philadelphia will ever be of service to Tripoli. I shall hazard much to destroy her. It will undoubtedly cost us many lives, but it must be done." Again, he wrote to the Secretary, "I was well informed, that her situation was such as to render it impossible to bring her out; and, her destruction being absolutely necessary to favor my intended operations against that city, I determined the attempt should be made."

In a letter to Mr. Cathcart, at Leghorn, he used these decisive words; "I determined, *from the moment I heard of her capture*, to destroy her, to prevent the consequences of her remaining in their possession;" and subsequently, in a communication to Mr. Livingston, our minister at Paris, he repeated this emphatic language, and still more clearly stated the designs which he had in view, in getting her out of the way. Thus he said, "I determined, from the moment I heard she was in possession of the enemy, to destroy her; and it has been done. This will seriously affect the Bashaw, who is poor, as it has deprived him of the resources which the sale of her to Algiers or Tunis would have afforded; and at

the same time, those powers are deprived of an important addition of strength to their navy."

These statements make no allusion to the suggestions of others, and should be regarded as conclusive, made, as they were, at different times and to different officers of the government, and covering, as they do, the exact point in controversy. But, while this question is thus disposed of, the claims of Bainbridge are entitled to the most respectful attention. He and the Commodore had managed to keep up an active correspondence, both open and secret; and, though the transmission of letters was attended with difficulty and delay, the captive officer was untiring in his exertions to advise his chief of every event, and to make every suggestion calculated to aid his operations. In regard to this particular affair, he gave his views on three several occasions. His earliest communication was not received until the 4th of January, 1804, and his latest had not been sent from prison when the ship was burned.* His information was, beyond all doubt, highly

* Bainbridge's claim, as having been the first to suggest the plan, depends confessedly on his letter of December 5th, 1803; but this letter did not reach Preble until twenty-five days after he had written his despatch of December 10th, from which the first quotation in the text is made.

useful in fixing upon the exact course of procedure, since he advised Preble of the precise situation and condition of the frigate, of the impracticability of taking her out, of the disposition of the Tripolitan force in the harbor, and its probable means of defeating an attempt to execute the meditated plan for her destruction. To him, unfortunately deprived as he was of the opportunity of sharing in the dangers and glory of his associate commanders, all proper acknowledgment should be rendered for the zeal which he manifested, on this occasion and others, to enable them to endear their names to their common country.

Stewart had offered to go in with the Siren and cut out the Philadelphia; and Decatur had proposed to run in for the same object with the Enterprise. Preble preferred a scheme of his own, and to employ the prize ketch, which had received the name of the Intrepid. This little vessel was admirably adapted to the purpose, as she was of Mediterranean rig and construction, and could be seen upon the coast without exciting suspicion. The Commodore felt that much of the success of his future plans depended upon the favorable issue of this measure, and every point was well considered, and every probable contingency provided for.

It fell to Decatur to execute this daring enterprise. On the 31st of January, he was directed to proceed from Syracuse to Tripoli in the *Intrepid*, with five midshipmen from the *Constitution*, and, including these and the officers from the *Enterprise*, his own vessel, seventy men, with a full allowance of water and provisions for a cruise of thirty days.* His directions were specific and particular. That a second attempt to scuttle her should not fail, he was told, "After the ship is well on fire, point

* There is some confusion in the accounts of the number of persons engaged. A list found among Preble's papers gives the names of ten officers, and of sixty petty officers, marines, and seamen; total, seventy; and seventy is the number stated in his letter to the Secretary of the Navy. But in the *American State Papers*, Vol. XIV. p. 128, it is said, that the force was seventy-five men; to wit, Stephen Decatur, commander; James Lawrence, Joseph Bainbridge, and Jonathan Thorn, lieutenants; Lewis Herman, surgeon; Ralph Izard, John Rowe, Charles Morris, Alexander Laws, John Davis, Thomas Macdonough and Thomas O. Anderson, midshipmen; Salvadore M. Catalano, pilot; and sixty-two men; while, from Stewart's official report, it seems that he furnished from the *Siren* one officer and nine men, thus increasing the number to eighty-five. Yet, as that officer was undoubtedly Anderson, who is included in the seventy-five, there could have been but eighty-four. Cooper differs from all, making seventy-four originally detailed, and eighty-two when reinforced from the *Siren*.

two of the eighteen pounders shotted down the main hatch, and blow her bottom out." And, again, "It will be well, in order to prevent alarm, to carry all by the sword. May God prosper and succeed you in this enterprise!" Stewart, with his brig, was directed to proceed in company, to aid with his boats and otherwise, as occasion might require; and, before approaching so near the coast as to be discovered from the shore, he was ordered to disguise the Siren as a merchantman, by changing her paint, sending down her light spars, housing her guns, shutting her ports, and raising her quarter-cloths.

The Intrepid and the Siren were delayed by boisterous weather; and, though they arrived off Tripoli on the 7th of February, they were unable to enter the harbor until the night of the 16th, when, about ten o'clock in the evening, Decatur ran alongside the frigate, boarded and carried her against all opposition. Preble, in writing to Hull, said, "Not a musket or pistol was fired; the sabre and tomahawk settled the business." The Tripolitans lost between twenty and thirty killed. As many as would fill one boat escaped from the ship, the rest of those on board, one prisoner excepted, were driven into the sea. The Philadelphia was in complete order, and had all her

guns mounted and loaded. Decatur had not a man killed, and but one wounded. As had been arranged, she was set on fire and consumed, with all her materials. The assailants were fired upon from the batteries, and vessels in the harbor, but effected their escape without further harm. "The entire bay was illuminated by the conflagration," says the despatch, "the roar of cannon was constant, and Tripoli was in a clamor. The appearance of the ship was in the highest degree magnificent, and, to add to the effect, as her guns heated, they began to go off."

Stewart, owing to circumstances beyond his control, was unable to afford the contemplated aid. "On the happy termination of the affair," said that gallant officer, in his official report to the Commodore, "I heartily congratulate you. I only have to lament, that a junction had not been formed with the *Intrepid* by the boats of the *Siren*." Preble, in writing to the Secretary, commended this officer, and, assigning the lightness of the wind as the cause of his inability to coöperate, remarked, that he "took the best position without the harbor to cover the retreat of the *Intrepid*." "His conduct through the expedition had been judicious, and highly meritorious."

The zeal and ardor of the officers generally,

at this moment, may be inferred from the following fact communicated to the department in Preble's despatch. "But few of the officers of the squadron could be gratified. In justice to them, I beg leave to observe, that they all offered to volunteer their services on the occasion." Most of those who were actually engaged in the affair were promoted; and Decatur, the principal actor, was raised to a post-captain.

The Commodore's letters to his friends and correspondents in the Mediterranean, at this period, are filled with praise of Decatur; and in addition to the general commendation of his gallant conduct to the Secretary, he wrote as follows.

"Lieutenant Decatur is an officer of too much value to be neglected. The important service he has rendered in destroying an enemy's frigate of forty guns, and the gallant manner in which he performed it, in a small vessel of only sixty tons and four guns, under the enemy's batteries, surrounded by their corsairs and armed boats, the crews of which stood appalled at his intrepidity and daring, would, in any navy of Europe, insure him instantaneous promotion to the rank of post-captain. I wish, as a stimulus, it could be done in this instance; it would eventually be of real

service to our navy. I beg most earnestly to recommend him to the President, that he may be rewarded according to his merit."

The only alloy to this splendid deed consisted in the severe treatment, of which it was the cause, to the officers and crew of this ill-fated ship. After her loss, the Bashaw was extremely angry, and, barbarian like, without considering that the Americans in his possession were in no way responsible for the daring act of their countrymen, he removed them within the walls of his Castle, and deprived them of the liberty of seeing or speaking with any of the Christian consuls or commissaries resident at Tripoli. It was a fortunate circumstance, that the capture of the *Mastico* had placed in Preble's hands a sufficient number of Tripolitans of distinction to insure their safety.

The brig and ketch were absent from Syracuse more than a fortnight, and much longer than was expected. The anxiety of the Commodore was intense; and when, finally, the signal of success was discerned flying on board the *Siren*, as she approached the port, suspense and pain gave way to emotions of joy and gratitude. The Sicilians, whose relations with Tripoli were hostile, received the returning party with as much delight as the officers

and men of the squadron, and testified their pleasure with shouts and salutes.

This important matter so satisfactorily disposed of, other concerns demanded attention. "This is not the season for action," remarked Preble to Colonel Lear, in a letter of the 19th of February; "but you know I do not like to be idle. I am preparing for another expedition to the Tripolitan coast." Early in that month, the *Vixen* and *Nautilus* had been sent to communicate with Mr. Davis, the American Consul at Tunis, and were then ordered to proceed on a cruise, the former off Algiers, and the latter off Tripoli. The *Enterprise*, in charge of Lieutenant Dent, while Decatur was absent in the *Intrepid*, was despatched to Messina, to examine the gun and mortar boats there; and to ascertain whether any of a suitable description were to be purchased or chartered, and whether mortars and guns could be procured for use, in the meditated purpose of "annoying the Tripolitans, in a way they had not been accustomed to, as soon as the spring opens."

Decatur, having returned to his proper command, was, on the 20th, directed to proceed to Messina, and give the *Enterprise* such repairs as were necessary to make her a safe vessel; but, said the economical chief, "You are not

to expend any money in ornamenting her." And, again, "It is expected that not a moment will be lost, as in the latter part of March I shall sail with the squadron on an important expedition, when I shall want your services." At this time Preble had learned, that some of the petty officers of the Philadelphia had entered into the service of the Bashaw; and, apprehensive that his cruisers, under the guidance of these men, would get to sea and molest our commerce, Hull, who was still kept at his station in the Argus, was renewedly instructed to guard the seas between Capes de Gat and Martin. Mean time, the Constitution's injured spars and rigging had been repaired; she had received "a thorough overhaul," and was ready for the severe duty on which her untiring commander designed soon to place her.

On the 9th of March, though the weather was still so boisterous that they, who act upon the principle of doing what is convenient rather than all that is possible, would have kept quietly moored in port, Stewart and Smith were again ordered off Tripoli, with the Siren and Nautilus. The injunctions of the Commodore were extremely exact and rigid. They were told to keep upon their cruising ground until joined by himself in the flagship; not to release the blockade without specific

orders; and not to separate from each other, if possibly to be avoided. The Constitution soon followed, and, after a short absence at sea, returned to Syracuse on the 17th, to take in provisions and water. Sailing again, she made her appearance before the invested port in a few days. Preble, on the 26th, addressed the Prime Minister of the Bashaw, renewing a proposition; which he had made on the 4th of January, for an exchange of prisoners, and requesting that liberty and facilities might be afforded to him to send clothing to Bainbridge and his fellow-captives. He availed himself of the opportunity, also, to communicate with that officer, and with the French Consul, and to invite the latter to a conference on board of his ship. No results followed. Bainbridge was permitted to say, however, in a note to his chief, that the clothing might be sent in neutral vessels, but not in the boats of the squadron.

In April, the Argus, under Hull, was taken from her winter station, and added to the blockading force off Tripoli. As definite positions might now be taken with some hope of maintaining them, Stewart was directed to keep that vessel and the Enterprise westerly from the town, and his own brig and the Vixen easterly, until joined by the Constitution.

Late in March, the *Siren* captured a polacre, under the Russian flag, with bullocks, sheep, and horses, bound from Tripoli to Malta; and a few days later, and under the guns of the Castle, Stewart made another prize of vastly more consequence. This was a brig of sixteen guns, owned by the Tripolitan Consul at Malta. She had been for a long time employed in carrying powder and other military stores to Tripoli, and, though apparently the Consul's property, was supposed really to belong to the Bashaw. Like the *Mastico*, this brig was appraised for the benefit of the captors, and, receiving the name of the *Scourge*, was taken into the public service. Lieutenant Dent was designated to command her, and he was required to equip her and join in the blockade without delay. She was built for war, and was a good vessel.

The weather, though the spring was well advanced, continued rough and inclement; and the *Nautilus* encountered a gale, and was near being lost. One entire side of her waist was broken in; three of her guns were carried overboard and lost; and, weakened and strained in the conflict with the wind and sea, she was sent to Messina for repairs. We have seen, that she had been kept steadily on hard duty throughout the winter; but she seems to have

been an inferior vessel, for the Commodore, when relating her mishap to the Secretary, told him, that "she was very rotten, and never was strong enough for a cruiser." Thus, of the small and inadequate force, which the government had originally sent to the Mediterranean as the third squadron, one of the two frigates had been consumed by the flames, and two of the schooners had proved to be defective and unseaworthy. But one redeeming circumstance mitigated every disappointment, and cheered him amid every discouragement. His officers were excellent, and of their distinguished worth too frequent mention can hardly be made. Upon them his hopes rested, and to their activity, ardor, and courage, much of the success that crowned his efforts is most certainly due.

Yet his first council had filled him with sadness. When, on his arrival at the post of duty, he summoned his officers to his cabin, to consult with them upon a plan of operations, Bainbridge, the only officer of his own rank by commission of captain, and Hull, the only native of New England, and whose years approached nearer his own, were absent. Colonel Lear was present, and witnessed the scene. Of his six officers, the four, who met him in council, were Stewart, Decatur, Smith, and Somers.

These, like Hull, were lieutenants. They were young, and entire strangers, and entertained, as is supposed, a dislike to him. In the council they said but little. Thoughtful and melancholy at the prospect before him, he was asked by Lear, after they had retired, if he was unwell. "I have been indiscreet, Colonel Lear, in accepting this command," was his reply. "Had I known how I was to be supported, I certainly should have declined it." The course of our narrative of events has led us to speak often of Bainbridge's unhappy fate, and of Hull's continued absence on separate service until about the time of which we now write. But, meanwhile, Preble had learned the character of his younger officers, and, as he subsequently told Colonel Lear, more than seven months' experience had shown him, that no commander had ever been blessed with better.

Towards the close of April, the Constitution was off the harbor of Malta; and, touching successively at Tunis and Palermo, she arrived in the Bay of Naples on the 15th of May. At this time, the Siren, Vixen, Argus, Enterprise, and Scourge, were in close blockade of Tripoli. The Nautilus, the remaining vessel of the squadron, was still in port, her repairs not yet being completed. During the month, the brigs and schooners had several encounters with the

Tripolitan gunboats and batteries, but, little damage was sustained on either side. At the end of May, we find the flagship at Syracuse, and ready to leave that port, to ascertain the objects of twelve sail of Tunisian cruisers, that had just put to sea.

June was passed in busy preparation. On the 14th, the Constitution was off Tripoli, and the Siren, Argus, Enterprise, Vixen, and Scourge, having maintained their respective positions, were, on that day, in sight from her deck. But Tunis manifested so hostile a disposition, and expressed so much dissatisfaction, because she was not better treated in the matter of presents and tribute, that the Commodore thought proper to take the Argus and Enterprise in company, and pay the Bey a visit. The three vessels were in Tunis Bay on the 20th, and Preble immediately communicated with our Consul. The Tunisians, at this time, had about twenty cruisers at sea. A thirty-six gun frigate, and several smaller armed vessels, were at anchor in the bay, and ready to sail. In the port was also a Tripolitan xebec. Having shown the Bey of Tunis that his eye was upon him, and that he was prepared to chastise the first warlike movement, Preble departed on the 23d, and, touching at Malta for intelligence, arrived at Syracuse on

the 26th. While off Tripoli, in the early part of the month, the Constitution had spared her water and provisions to the Siren, Vixen, and Scourge, to prevent the necessity of their leaving the station, and was thus required to replace them at the port of deposit and general resort before returning to the blockade. Circumstances, of which we shall soon speak, rendered the presence of that ship at Messina highly desirable. The Nautilus, having been almost wholly rebuilt, was now ready to join her consorts.

During the entire winter and spring, the Commodore, though promised, at least one frigate from home, to arrive in April, had been industriously employed in increasing and strengthening his force. Before leaving the United States, he had foreseen that three or four vessels, of forty or fifty tons each, would be useful, and had applied to the government for liberty to hire or purchase them. The Secretary answered, that there was "no law authorizing the purchase;" still, that, upon a certain contingency, he might "hire" the requisite number, provided he could officer and man them from his squadron; for said the Secretary of an anti-naval parsimonious administration, "we cannot employ any other; it would be an increase of expense unauthorized by the

appropriations of Congress." Fortunately, Preble could *borrow*, without condition and without violation of law. But after the loss of the *Philadelphia*, he determined to supply himself with gun and mortar boats, and mortars, in the best way possible, and early in January desired Mr. Cathcart to advise him "where, when, and on what terms they could be procured." Subsequently, he opened a correspondence with our navy agents at Leghorn, and with friends at Messina and Palermo, on the same subject. Finding, at length, that the King of Naples would *lend* him all he desired, he relinquished his *unlawful* design of hiring or buying, and, failing in both, of building. When he informed the Secretary, in March, of the result of his inquiries, he very carefully spoke of "obtaining gun and mortar boats from Naples *on loan*."

The application to General Acton, his Sicilian Majesty's Minister of State, made at Naples by Preble in person for eight gunboats and two bomb-vessels, terminated in that functionary's placing at his disposal, "under the title of a friendly loan," six of the former and the two latter with the necessary tackle and ammunition. And he also "borrowed" of that friendly power six long twenty-four pounders, which he mounted on the upper deck of his

own ship. When the boats and bomb-vessels were obtained, they needed extensive repairs and much fitting to serve the purposes of the borrower, and his operations were delayed for weeks in consequence. They were but miserable craft at best, and required while in service, said the Commodore, "much nursing." The bomb-vessels were about thirty tons' burden, and carried a thirteen inch brass sea mortar and forty men each; while the gunboats were even smaller, had a smaller complement of men, and were armed with a long twenty-four pounder in the bow. The latter were constructed for the defence of harbors. In bad weather they were useless.

As every ship of the squadron was considerably short of her complement of men, the Commodore was compelled to man them partially with Neapolitans; and, by permission of their government, twelve bombardiers, gunners, and sailors were attached to each. Every thing was finally in order, every preparation complete; and the chief announced his "determination to beat the Bashaw into better humor;" and he playfully added, "I have seven hundred bombshells and plenty of shot to amuse him with." Leaving an order for the long expected reinforcement from the United States to join him immediately after reaching Syra-

cuse, he assembled his whole force off Tripoli. It should be remembered, that the cannon of the Constitution were the only ones in the fleet, that he could hope would make any impression upon the walls and fortresses of the enemy.

CHAPTER V.

The Squadron in Force off Tripoli. — Driven off by a Gale. — First Attack. — Second Attack. — Preble's Plans interrupted. — Squadron again driven off by a Gale. — Three other Attacks. — The Intrepid sent in as a Fireship. — Explodes. — Preparations for a sixth Attack. — Barron arrives and takes the Command.

THE Bashaw boasted that he was perfectly secure, and could defy the utmost exertions of his foe. Bainbridge appears to have doubted whether an attack upon Tripoli by sea would result favorably, and in more than one letter expressed his conviction, that it was only vulnerable to the United States in one way; and that was, as he wrote to Preble, "by eight or ten thousand men landing near the town. This measure, or money, is the alter-

native." And with regard to a blockade, he gave the opinion, that "it had and ever would be found a wrong system to pursue with this regency; it is only hazarding a great risk, as I have fatally experienced, without the least effect," except the interest of a few Jewish merchants and others, whom the Bashaw totally disregarded. From these views the Commodore dissented.

The defences were, in truth, appallingly formidable. The city was well walled, and protected by batteries judiciously constructed, and mounting one hundred and fifteen pieces of heavy cannon; and a force of twenty-five thousand Arabs and Turks was at hand to man them, and otherwise act against an assailing enemy. The harbor was guarded by nineteen gunboats, two galleys, two schooners of eight guns each, and a brig of ten guns. These formed a strong line of defence at secure moorings, inside of a long range of rocks and shoals, extending more than two miles to the eastward of the town, where they were shielded from the north gales, and where the water was too shallow for a frigate to venture. Each of the gunboats mounted either a heavy eighteen or twenty-six pounder in the bow, and two brass howitzers on the quarters, and carried from thirty-six to fifty men. The com-

plement of the galleys, schooners, and brig, was about one hundred men each. The batteries were twelve in number. One was known in the squadron as "Fort American," from the fact of its having been built by the crew of the Philadelphia, then prisoners; and another was called the "Vixen Battery," from the circumstance of having fired the first shot at the vessel of that name.

The efficiency of these several means of defence against an enemy attacking in ships was now to be tried. The Constitution, Nautilus, Enterprise, the six gunboats, and the two bomb-vessels, sailed from Syracuse on the 14th of July, and put into Malta two days after. They were detained by contrary gales until the 21st, and, arriving in sight of Tripoli on the 25th, were joined by the Siren, Argus, Vixen, and Scourge. The force thus assembled consisted of the flagship, three brigs, three schooners, and the eight small vessels borrowed of the King of Naples, and ten hundred and sixty men. Arrangements were made for an immediate action; but the weather was not favorable for anchoring until the 28th, when the whole squadron stood in for the coast, and at three o'clock in the afternoon anchored, by signal, two and a half miles from the city. At this instant the wind suddenly changed, and blew

strong, with a heavy sea setting directly on shore; and every vessel was compelled to weigh and seek an offing. Fortunately, they gained sufficient sea room without carrying a press of sail, and without the loss of the gunboats, which, however, were exposed to great danger. The gale continued until the 31st, on which day it became so violent, that the Constitution, though under reefed sails, lost her foresail and maintopsail; and, had the sea risen in proportion to the wind, none of the boats could have been saved.

The gale subsided on the 1st of August, and the squadron stood towards the coast a second time, and prepared for battle, but did not engage until the 3d. As Preble approached the city on that day, he observed that several of the Tripolitan gunboats and galleys had advanced in two divisions outside of the rocks; and, resolving to take advantage of their temerity, he wore off shore and made signal for his vessels to come within hail. As they passed the Constitution, he communicated to the several commanders his intention of attacking both the enemy's shipping and batteries. His gunboats were placed in divisions of three each. Somers commanded the first division, with James Decatur and Blake, each at the head of a boat. The command of the second division

was assigned to Stephen Decatur, and the boats under him to Joseph Bainbridge and Trippe. Dent had charge of one bomb-vessel, and Robinson of the other. Every movement of the squadron was singularly precise and regular; and about three o'clock in the afternoon, the flagship being ahead, the action commenced by throwing shells into the town. In a moment the Tripolitans opened a tremendous fire afloat and from their batteries, which was promptly returned on the part of the American vessels, within grape shot distance.

Decatur, meantime, with the second division of gunboats, advanced with sails and oars to attack the eastern division of the enemy, which consisted of three times his own number. Soon closing, a dreadful conflict ensued, hand to hand, with pistols, sabres, pikes, and tomahawks. Somers's own boat was a dull sailer, and, though he plied his sweeps with all diligence, he could not reach or aid the fearless Decatur. Ascertaining this, he bore down singly, and engaged five of the Tripolitan boats of the western division within pistol shot, defeated them, and drove them within the rocks in a shattered condition, and with a great loss of men. James Decatur, however, with his boat, lessened the unequal fight that was waging between his brother's three and the enemy's nine boats,

and, engaging one of the largest of the latter, killed many of her men, and compelled her to surrender ; but, when boarding to take possession, the murderous captain shot him through the head, and made his escape. He was afterwards killed. Blake kept more from the scene of deadly strife. If he had gone to Somers's relief, Preble thought it probable, that several of the enemy's boats of the western division would have been captured.

Decatur's feats were wonderful. He boarded and carried one boat of superior force, and, taking her in tow, stood for and engaged another, and took possession of her after a severe and bloody struggle. Trippe, too, engaged in a desperate conflict. Running alongside a large boat, and meaning to carry her by boarding, his own boat fell off, after himself, Midshipman Henly, and nine of his crew had gained the enemy's deck. Thus left, he was compelled to conquer or perish, with the odds of more than three to one. Trippe himself received eleven sabre wounds, some of which were severe. When becoming master of the Tripolitan vessel, it was found that he and his gallant comrades had killed fourteen, and wounded seven of her men, and that his prisoners were twenty-two, just double his own number. Joseph Bainbridge lost an important spar early

in the action, and was prevented from getting alongside the enemy's boats; but he galled them by a steady and well directed fire at musket distance, and pursued his foe until his own boat grounded under the batteries. The bomb-vessels, under Dent and Robinson, did their duty to the Commodore's entire satisfaction. Their fire was constant, and they kept their station, though covered with spray from the enemy's shot falling around them. The brigs and schooners, each and all, did their duty, and, obeying every signal made from the flagship, bore themselves gallantly throughout the strife, and annoyed the Tripolitans exceedingly.

After the capture of three of the gunboats, the remainder of the flotilla outside retired within the rocks; where, joined by five others and two galleys, and supplied with fresh men from the shore, they twice attempted to row out, for the purpose of surrounding our gunboats and prizes; but, from the Commodore's signals to the vessels of the squadron, both attempts were promptly repelled by a fire which they could not endure. Before night the wind freshened, and Preble withdrew his force. Lieutenant James Decatur, a young man of valor and great promise, was the only American officer slain.

The enemy suffered much. Three of their boats were sunk in the harbor, and the decks of several others were nearly cleared of their men. On shore a number of shells burst in the town and batteries.

It remains to speak of the Constitution. No man ever carried a ship under an enemy's guns more boldly, shortened sail for a fight more deliberately, or maintained greater self-possession while exposed to their fire, than her commander. His conduct throughout was admired by all who witnessed it. As commander-in-chief, his eye was everywhere, and every vessel fought under his immediate direction, and by his signals from time to time as events or emergencies required. A ball, which entered a stern port of his ship, it is thought, would have cut him in two, had it not struck the breech of a gun and broken. Several times, he approached within two cables' length of the rocks, and within three of the batteries; and as often as he passed the latter, he silenced them in succession by his terrible and continuous showers of shot. As soon, however, as his broadside could not be brought to bear, they would again open their fire; and in wearing and tacking, the Constitution suffered greatly. She was under the fire of the batteries for two hours; but she kept so near, that the Tri-

politans overshot her, and she did not lose a man. The principal damage was to sails and rigging; though a twenty-four pound shot nearly severed the mainmast thirty feet from the deck, and a thirty-two pound ball, after striking a quarter-deck gun, scattered its fragments in every direction. Preble was the last to retire from the attack; covering, by a heavy cannonade, the brigs and schooners, as they left the harbor with the gunboats and prizes in tow.

Having placed themselves in positions beyond the range of the enemy's shot, the commanders of the several vessels repaired to the flagship, to make their reports, to receive their orders, and to learn of each other the incidents of the day.

On the 5th of August, while the squadron was at anchor about two leagues north of the city, the *Argus*, after a short chase of a small French privateer, came up with her, and the Commodore prevailed upon the French Captain to carry in, for a consideration, fourteen very badly wounded Tripolitan prisoners. This return of captives, with a suitable letter to the Bashaw's Prime Minister, he regarded as at once politic and humane. During this day and the following, all hands were busily employed in changing the three prizes from latteen rig

to sloops, in preparation for a second attack. The three prize boats were placed respectively under command of Lieutenants Crane, Thorn, and Caldwell, and added to the squadron.

The contest was renewed on the 7th. The wind was light, the current strong, and the Constitution was compelled to remain at anchor. Upon signal, the other vessels weighed and stood for the shore. Both sails and oars were used in gaining their designated stations. According to the plan, the bombs were to take a position in a small bay westerly from the city, where but a few guns of the enemy could annoy them, and where they could throw shells within the walls. The gunboats were to silence a battery of seven heavy guns, which guarded the approach to that position; while the brigs and schooners were to hold themselves in readiness to drive back the Tripolitan flotilla, should it venture out. Early in the afternoon, a breeze springing up, the Commodore himself stood in for the town; but, the direction of the wind rendering it imprudent to open upon the batteries, he did not engage them. His reason was, that the loss of a principal spar by their shot, with the wind blowing on shore, might occasion the loss of the frigate herself.

Watching the bomb-vessels and gunboats

until they gained their places, he displayed the signal for the commencement of a cannonade on the town and its defences. Instantly shells and shot were hurled from these little vessels in profusion, and their fire was returned by the assailed without waste of time. In less than two hours, six guns of the seven gun battery were silenced, and the walls of the fortress were nearly demolished.

During the engagement, the gunboat under Caldwell blew up. She had on board twenty-eight officers and men, of whom sixteen were killed or wounded; and among the slain were her commander and Midshipman Dorsey. At the moment of the explosion, Midshipman Spence was superintending the loading of the gun; and, though the boat was sinking, he, and those of the crew who were assisting, finished charging the piece; then giving three cheers as their shattered vessel went from under them, they swam to the nearest friends, and assisted them for the remainder of the action.

This disaster caused no change in the designs of the day, and Preble kept every vessel at her station for two hours after it occurred, and until the expenditure of ammunition dictated the recall of his force. This was a hard fought battle. Forty-eight shells, and about

five hundred twenty-four pound shot, were thrown into the town and batteries. Some of the gunboats were much damaged by the enemy's shot. Trippe, disabled by wounds received on the 3d, had a worthy successor in the command of his gunboat in Henry Wadsworth, a lieutenant of the flagship; and Brooks, master of the Argus, supplied the place, which had been filled on that day by Blake. The wind springing up after a severe cannonading of three hours, signal was made for the brigs and schooners to take the gunboats and bomb-vessels in tow; and at nine o'clock in the evening, the squadron anchored five miles from the city.

About the middle of the afternoon, a strange sail hove in sight, which proved to be the long expected frigate John Adams, Chauncey, direct from the United States. She joined company at eight o'clock, and brought the first positive information of a reinforcement, and the unexpected intelligence that it was to come out and act under the orders of Commodore Samuel Barron, as Preble's successor. The despatch of the Secretary assured the present chief, that he had the President's full confidence, and that circumstances, which we shall particularly notice elsewhere, alone occasioned the change. But Preble felt his recall keenly; and yet he

demeaned himself as became one who lived but to serve his country. He wrote, in the journal of his proceedings two days after Chauncey's arrival, "I cannot but regret, that our naval establishment is so limited, as to deprive me of the means and glory of completely subduing the haughty tyrant of Tripoli, while in the chief command. It will, however, afford me satisfaction to give my successor all the assistance in my power." It so happened, that Barron's presence was delayed until Preble's wishes, thus feelingly but nobly expressed, were well nigh gratified.

As the other frigates were to leave Hampton Roads four days after the John Adams's departure, Preble now hourly expected their arrival; but with a zeal more honorable to him as an officer and as a man, than even courage, he immediately renewed preparations for another attack, to be led by the new Commodore. "As soon as Barron arrives," said he, "the fate of Tripoli will be sealed."

But this interruption to his plans was unfortunate, since it caused delay at a season of the year when delay, owing to the prospect of heavy gales, was fraught with evil. Still it was his duty to pause, and he did so, and especially because the John Adams had come out with most of her gun carriages on board

of the expected ships, and could give him no assistance in battering the walls of the enemy. Her acquisition was, however, of service in other respects; as, desiring Chauncey to remain upon the station, he had the aid of that gentleman, his officers, men, and boats.

The 9th of August was devoted to the supplying of bomb-vessels and gunboats with ammunition and stores, and getting everything ready to enable Barron to follow up the advantages already gained, the instant he should appear. Towards night, to gain some necessary information, Preble went on board of the *Argus*, and directed Hull to proceed up the harbor and near the city. She was seen and fired upon from the batteries; and she narrowly escaped from sinking. One of the heaviest balls struck her about three feet short of the water line, raked the copper from her bottom under water, and went half way through her planking. A slight variation in its direction would have sent her to the bottom without remedy. In the evening, the wind blowing strong, the squadron weighed anchor, and kept under sail all night, but on the 10th, again came within six miles of the town.

Day after day passed without seeing Barron, and Preble's impatience became extreme. Some of his vessels had been upon the coast upwards

of five months without once visiting a friendly port; and the Constitution was compelled to spare to them, as well as to the gunboats, from time to time, both water and provisions. Indeed, the whole squadron began to be in want of these and other essentials of daily consumption. On the 16th, therefore, he despatched the Enterprise to Malta for supplies; she returned on the 23d, and, records the anxious Commodore, "brought no intelligence of the long expected frigates."

During her absence, he sent Decatur and Chauncey in two small boats to reconnoitre the harbor, and to ascertain the position of the Tripolitan flotilla at night. A gale compelled the squadron to gain an offing, and put an end to contemplated operations until the 24th. Determined to wait no longer for his successor, Preble prepared for a midnight assault upon the Bashaw's stone walls and water-borne defences, and by two o'clock in the morning had taken a position in front of the town. At that hour he commenced bombarding his enemy, and continued it until daylight. The injury inflicted was not, however, as great as he anticipated; and he resolved upon a fourth attack with solid shot alone.

Combining his whole force, the bomb-vessels excepted, and joined by Chauncey, a num-

ber of his officers, and about seventy of his seamen and marines, he made his arrangements for a more decisive demonstration on the 28th. At five o'clock in the afternoon of that day, the Constitution anchored two miles and a half from the Bashaw's Castle, designing to "amuse" His Highness for the remainder of the night. But it was past one in the morning of the coming day, before all the remaining vessels reached the places allotted to them. His two divisions of gunboats, still under command of Decatur and Somers, but with Gordon and Lawrence in two of them, were ordered to approach close to the rocks at the entrance of the harbor, and near the Castle; the Siren, Argus, Vixen, Nautilus, Enterprise, and boats of the squadron, accompanying and covering them. At three o'clock, anchoring with springs, they commenced their cannonade of the shipping, town, batteries, and Bashaw's Castle, and were warmly received, but with a fire unskilfully directed. The guns of the brigs and schooners, though well managed, were too light to do much execution; but the gunboats fired upwards of four hundred balls, besides grape and canister, with good effect. They seriously injured the Castle and city, and the crown and molehead batteries, and sank a large galiot at the mole, and considerably damaged a

Spanish ship, which had come into port with an ambassador from the Grand Signior. Recalled by the Commodore's signal, and covered by his diversion of the fire of the enemy towards the flagship, the gunboats retired in tow of the lighter vessels of the squadron soon after six o'clock in the morning, when there opened another and a grander scene than had yet been exhibited.

As the Constitution came up the harbor to engage in the conflict singly and by herself, and as she opened her fire of round shot and grape on the thirteen Tripolitan gunboats and galleys, that were engaged with Decatur's and Somers's divisions, three batteries, which mounted thirty-six cannon, poured forth a furious shower of shot upon her. After sinking one of the gunboats, driving others on shore to avoid a like fate, and scattering the whole flotilla, she stood on until within musket shot of the mole, when Preble backed her topsail, and lay for three quarters of an hour in close action. During this time, he fired more than three hundred round shot, and a due proportion of grape and canister; and silenced, for some time, the Bashaw's Castle and two of the batteries. Steadily and as deliberately as he went into the contest, he hauled out of it, without the loss of a man. Yet, as on the former

occasion, the Constitution suffered above her hull. The rigging was much cut and damaged, and several cannon balls and grape shot passed through her sails. In addition, an anchor-stock and cable were pierced, and a number of shot were found sticking in her sides; but not a single person on board was hurt! Chauncey remained on the quarter-deck throughout the whole affair; and Preble handsomely acknowledged the value of his services. The havoc among the Tripolitans, from this day's doings, was great. On the 31st of August, a vessel arrived from Malta with provisions and stores, but brought no news of Barron and the frigates, so much needed to end the war at a blow.

On the 3d of September, therefore, the superseded Commodore adventured, with his own means, upon another and the fifth endeavor to bring down the Bashaw's terms of peace. On this occasion, the bomb-vessels, yet in charge of Dent and Robinson, were again called into service; and Morris took command of one of the gunboats. Trippe, now nearly recovered of the wounds received in the first action, resumed his post; and Chauncey, with a number of his officers, and sixty men from the John Adams, repaired again to the Constitution as volunteers. The Tripolitans, meantime, had

raised and repaired the three gunboats, which were sunk on the 28th, and could now bring them again into action. They also prepared to meet their enemy in a new position, and, instead of placing their gunboats in front of the town, as previously, they formed their flotilla at a point in the harbor where it could receive but little harm from Preble's brigs and schooners, and where, if his gunboats moved against the city, they must leave this flotilla in their rear, and to windward. The Commodore met the case with a seaman's judgment, and arranged his force as the exigence required.

By the plan of battle, the bomb-vessels were to run down within proper distance of the city, and bombard it, while his gunboats should engage the gunboats and galleys of the enemy. Thus the contest opened. The bomb-vessels commenced throwing shells into the town at about half past three o'clock in the afternoon, and at the same time the gunboats opened their fire. The Tripolitan flotilla, Fort English, and a new battery, returned the fire of the latter; but our boats soon drove the floating force opposed to them under cover of the musketry at the fort. They were pursued by our boats, and by the Siren, Argus, Vixen, Nautilus, and Enterprise, as far as the reefs would safely permit, when the action became divided. One division of

our boats, with the brigs and schooners, attacked Fort English, while the other maintained a conflict with the flotilla. The bomb-vessels, meantime, were in great danger of being sunk by several batteries which kept up a constant fire upon them; and Preble went to their relief. Running in until he could bring his guns to bear upon the principal works, he hove the Constitution to, in a situation where more than seventy cannon could and did bear on him, and fired eleven broadsides into the Bashaw's Castle, town, and batteries.

After the gunboats had been engaged an hour and a quarter, the change of the wind rendered it expedient to withdraw them, and a signal was made from the flagship, for the brigs and schooners to take them in tow and retire. Soon after, the Constitution herself hauled off to repair damages. But before she left her position, she had thrown more than three hundred round shot, besides grape and canister. This affair was more serious than either of those which preceded it. The frigate was more exposed, and there is high professional authority for saying, that her fire was perhaps as warm, as a ship of her size and metal had ever given.

The eight gunboats under Decatur and Somers threw a hundred more round shot than

even the Constitution, with a due proportion of the smaller kinds; and the bomb-vessels discharged about fifty shells. Preble seems to have been pleased with the conduct of all, and his own was the subject of renewed admiration. To meet seventy guns, and principally heavy ones behind masonry, as he did, was certainly a task which some men would have shunned.

The squadron generally, strange as it may appear, went out of battle without material damage. One bomb-vessel was much shattered; her rigging was entirely cut up, and the bed of her mortar rendered useless. Most of the gunboats were injured in sails and cordage, and the larger vessels suffered in a similar way. The Argus received a thirty-two pound ball in her hull. The rigging of the Constitution was considerably injured, but in her wood-work no shot except grape took effect.

Anchoring at eleven o'clock, in the night of the 3d, about nine miles from Tripoli, Preble the next day resolved to execute the long contemplated plan of sending in a fireship, for the purpose of still further reducing and shattering his enemy's walled and floating defences. The fearless Somers volunteered to perform the service, and had already been some days directing the necessary preparations. The ketch

Intrepid, a name that can never be forgotten by naval men, was selected for the hazardous duty; and Henry Wadsworth, and Israel, two most estimable and gallant young lieutenants, joined Somers in the enterprise. The project was undoubtedly conceived by Preble himself. Certain it is, that every arrangement was made under his own eye, and regulated by his own judgment. The Intrepid, with one hundred bombs of powder, taken from the casks and placed in bulk, and one hundred and fifty fixed shells, with fusees calculated to burn for a quarter of an hour, and leading to her magazine where all the powder was deposited, and with two of the fastest boats of the squadron to receive her officers and crew after the point of destination should be reached, departed at eight o'clock on the evening of the 4th on this dangerous enterprise. The Argus, Vixen, and Nautilus accompanied her to the rocks, of which we have so often spoken.

As she went up the harbor, she was seen and fired upon from the batteries; and in a few minutes, and when apparently near the position which it was desirable to gain, she suddenly exploded, and all on board perished. The scene was awful. A signal of success had been fixed upon, and the whole squadron, hoping that the explosion occurred

in fulfilment of the plan in view, waited in anxious expectation to learn the fate of Somers and his brave associates. The *Argus*, *Vixen*, and *Nautilus* hovered round the entrance of the port until sunrise. Before hauling off, these vessels had a full view of the harbor; but not a vestige of the ketch or her boats was visible. More than forty years have elapsed, and no one has been able to ascertain the cause of the calamity.

Circumstances at the time led Preble to conclude, that Somers purposely fired the train, to avoid falling into the hands of the Tripolitans, who, as he supposed, were on the point of capturing her in four gunboats, detached from the flotilla for the purpose. His conjectures rested on the declarations of Somers, Wadsworth, and Israel, that, rather than be taken prisoners, to be ransomed by their country, and rather than the enemy should get possession of their vessel, they would put a match to the magazine, and involve themselves and their assailants in a common fate. Facts came out, after the Commodore left the Mediterranean, which, in the estimation of some, tended to show that his conjectures were erroneous. But it is known, that he held to his opinion after his arrival in the United States, and, it is believed, after these additional circumstances had come

to his knowledge.* The three officers were conspicuous for bravery, talents, and merit, and were highly beloved and lamented.

Wadsworth was Preble's townsman, the member of a chivalrous family, and the son of General Peleg Wadsworth, a distinguished Whig of the revolution. Preble's interest in this calamitous event could never have been diminished, to the hour of his own death. He knew the spirit of these officers, and seems to have entertained no doubt that they were capable of self-destruction. That the thought of preferring death to captivity was not new, but had been discussed in the squadron, to some extent at least, months before, and as early as December of the previous year when the Philadelphia was captured, appears evident from his own declarations, and from the letters of Bainbridge. And yet the explosion very likely happened by accident, or was the result of an enemy's shot striking some iron fastening of the ketch; and the latter is the more probable, since the gunboat under Caldwell could hardly have blown up from any other cause, in the action of the 7th of August.

* A brother of Henry Wadsworth has informed me, that he heard the Commodore express the opinion stated in the text, after his return to the United States.

Still the whole matter is involved in uncertainty, and must ever remain so. Yet the names of Somers, Wadsworth, and Israel, will never be lost in our history. The sad and solemn mystery, which hangs over their untimely end, and the noble qualities of character which they possessed, will insure perpetual remembrance. View the affair as we may, we arrive at the same conclusion at last; namely, that they died while devotedly serving their country, under the eye of a chief, who instilled his own lofty ideas of duty into all around him.

The 5th of September was passed in busy preparation for a sixth attack, on which day Dent was appointed to succeed Somers in the command of the *Nautilus*. At that time, also, Chauncey, in the *John Adams*, was directed to proceed to Malta, and thence to Washington; touching at Messina, Naples, Leghorn, Marseilles, Barcelona, Alicant, Malaga, and Gibraltar, to afford convoy to the American trade. On the 7th, the weather, previously boisterous, assumed so threatening an aspect, that the Commodore deemed the retention of the gunboats on the station to be hazardous; and arrangements for the meditated enterprise against Tripoli were accordingly suspended.

Ordering these miserable vessels to be taken

to Syracuse in tow by the John Adams, and the Siren, Enterprise, Scourge, and Nautilus to perform a similar duty with the bombs; Preble himself remained with the Constitution, Argus, and Vixen, to keep up the blockade.

But he was now destined to the enjoyment of some repose. Barron in the President, and Campbell in the Constellation, arrived on the 10th, a month later than was expected; and the command was at once surrendered to the former with the usual ceremony. But the various affairs which the retiring officer had in charge, and yet unfinished, did not allow him to leave the Mediterranean for a considerable time. Harassing and wearing care; however, constant watchfulness, sleepless hours, and responsibilities which might in a moment jeopard his honest fame, were now at an end. There was but little for his successor to do; and, had the project with the Intrepid been successful, it is highly probable that peace would have been concluded on Preble's own terms before Barron's arrival.

CHAPTER VI.

Preble's Negotiations with the Bashaw of Tripoli.

— *Determines to pay Nothing for Peace.* —

The Relations between the Barbary States and various Christian Powers. — *Peace concluded after Preble's Return to the United States.* — *Remarks upon its Terms.*

HAVING now brought the Commodore's hostile operations to a close, we may briefly consider his many but fruitless endeavors to effect an arrangement with Tripoli without the use of force, and the sacrifice of human life. His negotiations occurred at various periods, and our notice of them will carry us back to several of the dates which we have already mentioned.

But rather than divide the reader's attention, I have preferred to speak of warlike and pacific measures separately; since a connection of subject has seemed to me as far more desirable, than the observance of chronological order.

It was one of Nelson's maxims, that, "To negotiate with effect, force should be at hand, and in a situation to act." There is certainly much wisdom in the thought, when applied to the adjustment of difficulties between Christian

nations ; but, with Preble's peculiar foe, who, unmoved by a sense of justice and humanity, regulated his exactions by the presence or absence of adequate means to punish his audacity and cruelty, an efficient force "at hand, and in a situation to act," was indispensable. Aided by two frigates of the second squadron, he had been able to awe the Emperor of Morocco without the raising of an arm, or the firing of a gun ; and it is not improbable, that, had these ships, or two other frigates, with the Philadelphia and the remainder of his force, been continually at his disposal off Tripoli, and constantly visible to the Bashaw, he might have concluded an honorable treaty without the shedding of blood.

Be this as it may, the question of peace, according to the policy of the time, involved the distinct points of future presents, or "tribute," to the Bashaw, as a price for the restoration and preservation of amicable relations with the United States, and ransom money for Bainbridge and his associates in prison. Under the circumstances, Preble was willing to give what he deemed a liberal sum for the release of his countrymen ; but to yield a single dollar to gain and perpetuate the friendship of the "barbarian" ruler, was more than he could think of with complacency, or speak of with

calmness. In a word, to the disgraceful practice of sending to the several regencies annual stipends, in which nearly all Christendom was involved, he gave no countenance whatever; and, declaring at the outset his determination to enter into no stipulations of this nature, he maintained his pretensions through every discouragement, and to the last hour of his command.

The demands and expectations of the Barbary powers, forty years ago, seem now to be hardly credible. At an interview between Mr. O'Brien, who preceded Lear as Consul-General, and Mr. Davis consular agent at Tunis, on the part of the United States, and the Sapatapa or Minister of Tunis on the part of the Bey, there occurred the following remarkable conversation. The American functionaries had had an audience with the Bey, and, having been referred by him to the Minister, they were now twelve miles in the country, at his seat, where they were received "calmly and with a little stiffness."

"Well," said the Sapatapa, "you have seen the Bey?" "Yes." "What did you bring to him?" "A letter from the President, which gave a refusal of giving the Tunisian government a frigate." "What is the motive for this refusal?" "We want to keep all our own

force." "Do you allude to your war with Tripoli? You there occupy but a small force; as I understand you have in frigates, brigs, and schooners, to the number of forty or fifty sail. I do not as yet learn, that you have any ships of the line; but, if you cannot at present give or spare us a frigate or corvette, we will have patience until you are at peace with Tripoli." In answer to this, O'Brien and Davis observed, that he must relinquish all hope of the present of a ship of war. The Minister asked, "Why do you give them to Algiers?" "We stipulated at the peace," was the answer, "to give Algiers a frigate; and, as to the other corsairs, they were built and paid for at the expense of that regency, or taken on account of annuities and peace stipulations." "Well, if you do not give us the frigate, you can give us the cash as a substitute to obtain one." "We wish to preserve your friendship, and will give you to the amount, in cash, per annum or biennially, at the rate of eight thousand dollars." "This is a small sum for our friendship. Why not give us stores, as you do to Algiers?" "We stipulated by treaty to do by Algiers as we have done; and with Tunis made all our stipulations good; and cannot conceive, in justice, where you have a right or pretence to have any claim on the United

States." "The Spaniards," rejoined the Sapatapa, "the Danes, Swedes, and most all other nations, wish to secure our friendship with effective tokens and demonstrations of the same. I ask you, if your government has not an equal interest so to do." Various other matters were discussed; and before the close of the interview, the Minister significantly remarked, "When Tunis wants peace with your country, and is much in need of it, you shall know thereof;" and contemptuously added, "You have been three years at war with Tripoli, who has not the power that Tunis has; you have spent millions, and have done nothing; you have lost a frigate and her crew; you are tired of war, and want peace." This occurred in April, 1804; and Preble, in enclosing a full account of the conversation to the Secretary, said, that the Bey ought not to have been offered "a cent."

Such was the state of feeling when Preble opened his negotiations with Tripoli. It has been said, that Colonel Lear, the Consul-General at Algiers, was invested with authority from our government to conclude a peace with Tripoli, but the capture of the Philadelphia rendered the Bashaw's demands so "ridiculously extravagant," that he seems to have supposed that nothing but the force and weight of

Preble's shot would reduce his expectations to anything like a reasonable amount. Mr. O'Brien wrote, in December, 1803, that Portugal had offered Algiers one million and two hundred thousand dollars for peace, and the ransom of three hundred and eighty captives, but that he supposed our two hundred and seventy-eight mariners, who were prisoners in Tripoli, might be redeemed at six hundred dollars each, and the twenty-nine officers, including Bainbridge, at four thousand dollars each; to which he added an estimated sum, for peace, of one hundred thousand dollars. Colonel Lear, the same month, in a letter to the Commodore on the subject, stated that the Jews of Algiers set the ransom of our prisoners at five hundred thousand dollars; and that the Swedish Consul had informed him, that his nation had recently paid one hundred and fifty thousand dollars for one hundred and fifty captives, and the restoration of peace. From another quarter, Preble was informed, that the Bashaw actually preferred a claim of three millions of dollars; and this, said the Commodore, is certainly "a pretty good asking price."

Desiring to know how far these speculations were correct, and the precise demand for ransom of prisoners, he addressed a note of inquiry to the Prime Minister on the 4th of January,

1804, and, in the course of a few days, received indirect information, that the Philadelphia would be given up in exchange for an armed schooner; that her officers and crew would be surrendered on payment of five hundred dollars for each; and that pacific relations might be purchased at the sum stipulated by Sweden and Denmark as an annual gift. To these terms he would not listen. But he learned before the close of the month, that the Bashaw, apprehensive of his meditated attacks at the opening of the season, had moderated his tone, and relinquished his most objectionable proposition. The second overture seems to have been at first for a truce of ten years. Preble cut short all suggestions of this nature, by telling the Bashaw's agent, that he would have a permanent peace, and peace without paying a cent for it, or any yearly tribute to perpetuate it. As the result of several conversations, the Tripolitan proposed to exchange the frigate for a schooner, as offered on a former occasion, to exchange sixty of the American prisoners for the same number of Tripolitans in Preble's possession, and to ransom the remainder at five hundred dollars each. This basis would allow of giving one of the worst schooners for the Philadelphia, would restore our unfortunate countrymen to liberty, and

would rid the United States of the shameful obligation to send out presents; and the Commodore, in communicating his views to Lear and O'Brien, who were both at Algiers, expressed a wish, that they would join and assist him in conducting the matter to a close. Meantime the projected enterprise to burn the frigate was maturing, and, before he heard further from the Bashaw, she had been destroyed; and future negotiations were to proceed on the point of ransom of captives alone.

The Vixen was sent for Colonel Lear and Mr. O'Brien; but, as the United States were in arrears to Algiers, the former considered it doubtful whether the Dey would consent to his departure, and that, in the critical state of our affairs with that regency, he had better remain at his post. Mr. O'Brien, however, took passage with Smith, in compliance with the Commodore's desire. Yet Lear, when replying in March, gave his opinion that the Bashaw's terms should be accepted without hesitation, for, said he, "they are much better than our government calculated upon;" and he enclosed the copy of a letter from the Secretary of State, which showed how far he was authorized to go in the way of pecuniary stipulations; and, deputing his own powers to treat to Preble, he gave him liberty to pay six hun-

dred dollars per man for the Philadelphia's officers and crew, or one hundred dollars more for each, than the Bashaw's agent had offered to take in January.

On the 28th of March, M. Beaussier, the French Chargé d'Affaires and Commissary-General at Tripoli, who had previously had a conference with Preble on board of the Constitution by arrangement, addressed him a long letter on the subject of peace and ransom, and stated that, after the desired interview with "the Prince," as he called the Tripolitan ruler, he was inclined to think, that the price had now risen, and that the sum exacted would be five hundred thousand dollars at the least; and this notwithstanding he had informed his Highness 'of the lively interest of the First Consul in the destiny of the American prisoners.' And this increased demand on the part of the Bashaw appears to have been the first that the Commodore had heard from him, after the far more liberal overture made in January, which, it will be remembered, was prior to the destruction of the Philadelphia. That event, we have once remarked, caused much anger in Tripoli, and probably changed the Bashaw's designs quite as much as it soured his temper; for it would seem, that, in making peace, he meant that the American commander should

pay her value. Preble met the rebuff with a declaration, that, instead of submitting to his humor, he would make "his old walls rattle about his ears;" while, in a letter to Cathcart, he uttered the noble sentiment, "I value the national character of my country too highly to consent to a peace, which the most powerful nation in Europe would blush to make."

Endeavors to effect an accommodation by diplomacy, suspended for a month or two, were renewed early in June, by which time Preble was satisfied, that the French Minister played a part, was in the Tripolitan interest, and not to be trusted. In communicating with that functionary, on the 12th of June, he indulged in the following strain of cool irony. "I cannot but suppose," said he, "the First Consul will feel somewhat mortified, that, through his influence, you have not been able even to obtain permission to land the necessary clothing and provisions, which the American prisoners are suffering for want of. It is probable, the First Consul expected his mediation would have had more weight." Beaussier felt the rebuke, and, replying the next day, retorted thus; "I have not committed the name of the First Consul, or the dignity of my government, as you appear to believe. It is yourself, Commodore, who in rigor could be accused of this

by your offer, truly ridiculous and offensive, abruptly made after an absence of two months and a half." And again, "It was not decent to offer so insignificant a sum as forty thousand dollars for the ransom of three hundred prisoners, and the conclusion of peace. Without doubt you are not ignorant, that the ransom of a single cabin boy is from four to five hundred dollars, and that Mr. Cathcart proposed, three years ago, at the time of the declaration of war, the same sum of forty thousand dollars, only to suspend hostilities for ten months."

The "offer truly ridiculous," which so shocked M. Beaussier, was made through Mr. O'Brien, who went on shore on the 12th, authorized to propose the payment of two hundred dollars for each of the officers and crew of the Philadelphia, but "not a cent for tribute or peace." O'Brien, so far from succeeding in his mission, could not obtain leave to land the necessaries of which these unhappy men were entirely destitute, or gain permission to visit them, or even to see the Consuls of the different Christian powers, with whom the Basha was in amity. "Since my terms have been refused," said Preble, "I am now determined to beat him into better humor."

But yet he appears to have been sincerely anxious to prevent extremities; and, while on

a cruise in the Bay of Tunis, finding means to transmit a letter to Bainbridge, on the 19th of June, he empowered that officer to renew the rejected proposal to the Bashaw's Prime Minister. "A wish to avoid the effusion of blood," said he, "induces me to make this offer." The sum of fifty thousand dollars for ransom, to be paid on release of the captives, and a consular present of ten thousand dollars, to be paid on the arrival of the first American Consul at Tripoli, which was fixed at eight months from the date of signing the treaty, thus twice tendered and refused, were offered through Bainbridge a third time on the 27th; and in the hope of enlisting the good offices of the Minister, the Captain was further authorized to give him ten thousand dollars for his own use.

It may be asked, why, since Lear was the person whom our government had specially selected to conduct all pacific demonstrations, Preble should have been so unyielding on the question of ransom; and why, for a few thousand dollars, more or less, he continued to make overtures which produced no results, and kept his countrymen in captivity, since Lear had directly sanctioned his paying for each man just three times as much as he had offered on either of the occasions, which we have men-

tioned. The answer is very obvious, and may be given in the Commodore's own words to the Secretary. "I am confident, were I to make the offer, it would be accepted immediately; but it would be imprudent," because that sum "would stimulate the avarice of the other Barbary powers;" and because he was resolved on having a "peace on conditions, that we may not blush to acknowledge."

On the 10th of July, Bainbridge, in a secret letter, advised his superior, that he had been able to accomplish nothing with the Minister, and for various reasons; first, that the Bashaw would not treat with a prisoner, and only with a person sent expressly by the government of the United States; and secondly, because Holland had lately given eighty thousand dollars, and Denmark forty thousand dollars, for the friendship of Tripoli alone, neither power having a single prisoner to redeem; and to release three hundred Americans for fifty thousand dollars, and receive no money for amity, was not to be thought of, though every house in the city were to be knocked to pieces. As to being seriously harmed by the squadron, the Minister told Bainbridge his master felt but little concern; and "as for you, Commodore, he is determined to have no further communication with you; you may threaten, but

cannot convince; and from your threats, he believes you have no force." After so contemptuous a reply, further attempts to conciliate the Bashaw were hardly advisable. The day after the first attack, however, and on the 4th of August, when sending in the wounded Tripolitans captured on the 3d, the French Chargé d'Affaires was again requested to make known, that his former terms were still open for acceptance, and would thus continue until the arrival of the additional force of four frigates, momentarily expected, after which he should never consent to a payment of money even for prisoners. Beaussier answered on the 6th. He urged the Commodore to increase his offer; saying, that his "captive countrymen must shudder at every discharge of your cannon." And again, "I conjure you to propose a ransom more consistent with the honor and dignity of your nation." Preble's ideas of "honor and dignity" were so entirely different, that his second bombardment followed on the succeeding day.

On the 9th of August, and after the arrival of the John Adams, the French functionary, who, though distrusted, was the only medium of communication with the Bashaw, was furnished with the Commodore's final terms. He wrote, "I now propose my last offer, which I

most solemnly assure you I never will transcend ;” and this was eighty thousand dollars for the captives, and ten thousand dollars for a consular present. Demanding an answer by ten o’clock the next day, he insisted that, as soon as the three other frigates should join him, peace must be concluded without the stipulation of a single dollar for any purpose whatever.

At the time designated, a white flag was hoisted at the French consulate, in token of the readiness of the Tripolitan ruler to treat. A boat was despatched from the squadron to ascertain the Bashaw’s conclusion ; but though the demand was three hundred and fifty thousand dollars less than the sum required previous to the first action, on the 3d of August, Preble unhesitatingly rejected it. The most material point, and that for which the Commodore had strenuously contended, had now been gained, since nothing was, on this occasion, asked for peace or tribute. M. Beaussier vainly endeavored to induce the acceptance of the Bashaw’s proposal. “The ransom,” said he, “is not exorbitant, and will not fail to meet the approbation of your government.” This was perhaps true, since the demand was one hundred dollars less for each man, than Lear, in deputing his authority, had consented to give.

Anxious to prevent further effusion of blood, an addition of ten thousand dollars was made to the proposed consular present, and tendered through Beaussier on the 11th, but without avail, though, in a subsequent note of that day, the attempt to conciliate and gain over the Prime Minister by a gift was renewed. The overture, as now made, contemplated the payment; therefore, of one hundred and ten thousand dollars. It was declined, and the third bombardment followed. On the 29th, Preble, having made several prisoners in the fourth action, or on the previous day, desired an exchange, and again suggested to Beaussier his desire for an accommodation without further sacrifice of life. But that gentleman, after an audience, informed him that the Bashaw rejected the cartel of exchange, and still insisted upon a large sum for the redemption of those whom the fortune of war had placed in his hands. Here the negotiation ended.

The many endeavors to effect a cessation of hostilities by pacific means have been thus minutely mentioned, to show, not only that the exactions which the states of Barbary made upon Christian nations, at the period to which our narrative relates, were enormous, but that Commodore Preble was a principal instrument in lowering their tone, and in producing an

abolition of the custom, long and almost universally submitted to, of purchasing their friendship with sums of money, presents of ships, and military stores.

And, in closing this topic, the reader may rest sure in the belief, that, while Preble's resolution to accomplish so desirable a result never wavered, no traces of a spirit of reckless disregard for human life is discernible. His correspondence with the department, and with gentlemen in the Mediterranean, to whom he would naturally write more freely than to the Secretary of the Navy, contains no sentiment dishonorable to him, or which, in the present immeasurable advance of the principles of peace, would be regarded as objectionable, by persons who admit the necessity, and of consequence the lawfulness, of war. His bearing in battle, and under massive walls mounting double the number of cannon which his own ship could oppose to them, we have recorded; and we may now add, that, if he was brave, so was he also humane.

To relate the proceedings of Preble's successors forms no part of our purpose; but it is his biographer's duty to state the terms upon which peace was eventually concluded. After the junction of the reinforcement from the United States, the squadron was undoubtedly the

strongest, best appointed, and most efficient in every respect, that had at any time been assembled to act under the American flag. Indeed, a greater one could hardly have been equipped; for, with the exception of the United States, Chesapeake, New York, Adams, and Boston, it comprised, it is believed, the entire navy of the country.*

Preble, as has been frequently mentioned had but one frigate, while there were now six, and this force included all his brigs and schooners, and a twelve gun brig besides. His borrowed bomb-vessels, as we have seen, were small, and but poorly adapted for service; but two new ones were now added, which had been purchased specially for the purpose. His borrowed gunboats were inferior to the bomb-vessels; but ten were now added, which were built in the United States. They were large, regularly and carefully constructed, and most of them mounted two heavy thirty-two pounders, while his six carried but one gun each, and of a smaller calibre. The vessels of this squadron cost nearly a million of dollars more

* See a list of the vessels and commanders, in the Appendix. The Commodore, Samuel Barron, was suffering from indisposition when Preble left the Mediterranean, and, not recovering, the command was formally transferred to Commodore Rodgers, the officer next in rank.

than Preble's, and the annual expense of maintaining his force at sea was less by full half a million of dollars, even though the Philadelphia be considered as in service up to the termination of his command.

It was generally and justly expected, that, when almost the whole naval strength of the United States had been sent to the Mediterranean, Tripoli would have been subdued. Yet the treaty made with that power on the 4th of June, 1805, or nearly nine months after Preble's retirement, gave the Bashaw sixty thousand dollars ransom money. This arrangement, as well as other stipulations as objectionable, created much dissatisfaction. But it is not consistent with the design of this memoir to open the controversy anew. While it is sufficient to say, that our government ratified the treaty, and that upon the administration of the time the responsibility rests, it is still pertinent to ask, why, and for what purpose, the larger part of the armed marine of the nation was equipped, combined, and despatched some four thousand miles. Preble could have effected the release of his countrymen at five hundred dollars each; and was it necessary to send out and maintain a squadron in distant seas, at an expense of nearly a million per annum, to drive a bargain, to save

the difference between the sum which the Bashaw asked of that officer, and what was finally paid? Preble contended for a principle, and fought many hard battles, and incurred much personal hazard, to win for his country, once and for ever, the rights and usages of civilized nations. Except for considerations of national honor and respect, he would not have allowed the officers and crew of the Philadelphia to remain in prison for a single day. If a particular sum of money had been the point at issue, the fourth squadron needed not to sail from home; and had it been kept in the United States, the treasury would have been saved a large and a useless expenditure. It is difficult to conceive the motives of the government in making this, its only energetic demonstration throughout the war; in putting in commission so formidable an armament, after permitting so small a one to contend against odds so great for a whole year; and still more difficult to imagine why, when that small force had reduced the Bashaw's pretensions to the single question of ransom, it should have accepted and ratified conditions, which the Secretary of the Navy clearly and strongly condemned, and which Preble had repeatedly assured his Highness, the Bashaw, would not

be listened to for a moment after a reinforcement should arrive in the Mediterranean.

It has been suggested, however, that our rulers, deeply commiserating the condition of Bainbridge and his fellow-sufferers, may have been induced "to forego abstract considerations, with a view to their relief."* In closing the chapter and the subject, we may hope, that such was actually the case. Yet, were this the fact, the thought will probably occur to the reader, that a positive order to Preble to close with the Bashaw's best terms of ransom would have accomplished the release of the prisoners much more speedily, and quite as certainly, as a fleet of additional ships. I will only add, that it seems to rest on credible testimony, that, from some cause or other, the fourth squadron, formidable as it was, did not so much as assemble and show itself in force off Tripoli from the time of its organization to the close of the negotiations for peace.† The war, then, was finished in 1804, by the third squadron; and the treaty might as well have been concluded in that year, as in 1805.

* Cooper's *Naval History*, Vol. II. p. 85.

† American State Papers, "Foreign Relations," Vol. II. p. 719.

CHAPTER VII.

Preble's Force inefficient. — Want of Support from Home. — Left to create a Force for himself. — His Squadron not well manned. — Anti-naval Spirit of the Time. — The public Ships not well equipped. — No Duels, or Courts-martial, while Preble commanded.

It has been frequently but incidentally mentioned, that Preble's squadron was far too small for the service required of it. Something further should now be said on a subject so necessary to form a just estimate of the activity and energy of character, for which, it has been shown, he was remarkable.

Only six days after his arrival in the Mediterranean, on the 18th of September, 1803, he became convinced, that his force was inadequate; and he made known to the Secretary the importance of sending out a thirty-two gun frigate, a sixteen gun brig, and a fourteen gun schooner; and this, it will be borne in mind, was before misfortune had deprived him of any part of his original command. "Give me these additional vessels," said he, "and I can effectually blockade Morocco and Tripoli, and, by hiring a few gunboats, bring them both

to any terms we please." On the 9th of November, after he had arranged the difficulties with the former power, he repeats and urges the request; and towards the close of that month, he renews the suggestion, and enforces his own opinion by stating, that Mr. O'Brien entertained the same views.

On the 10th of December, when enclosing the papers connected with Bainbridge's capture, he thus made known his wants and feelings. "Were it not for that loss," was the course of remark, "I have no doubt but we should have had peace with Tripoli in the spring; but I have now no hope of such an event. If you send me another frigate or two, and a frigate to relieve the Argus at Gibraltar, so that I can have the services of that brig, I will so completely blockade Tripoli, and annoy the coast, as to lessen the Bashaw's demands more than double the expense of the reinforcement, and perhaps oblige him to sue for peace."

Again, on the 17th of January, 1804, he expressed to the Secretary his surprise, that the "first or second squadron did not oblige the Bashaw of Tripoli to sign any treaty they pleased; for," said he, "I have less force than either, with ten times the force to contend with. The Tripolitans, by May, will have

nineteen gunboats; and unless we have boats to fight them in their own way, we shall not be likely to succeed. If you will allow me to expend one hundred thousand dollars in such additional naval force as I think proper, I will take Tripoli, or perish in the attempt." In February, he renewed his request for a reinforcement; and in the month following, he urged, in the most pressing terms, that it should be sent out. "I feel extremely desirous of serving my country," said he, on the 14th of March, "and give me the means, and I will do it, by rendering the purchase of peace or payment of tribute totally unnecessary in this eastern world." At this time, Colonel Lear had become so impressed with the conviction, that an increase of ships was indispensably necessary, that he advised the Commodore of his having written to the Secretary of State on the subject. One of three things, in the Consul's apprehension, was certain; either that more force must be sent to the Mediterranean, or that our flag must become tributary to all Barbary, or that our commerce must be entirely withdrawn from that sea.

The loss of the *Philadelphia*, though it is said that "evil news travels apace," was not known at the navy department until about five months after it had happened; when it was

determined to put in immediate commission the President, the Constellation, the Essex, and the John Adams, armed *en flute* as a storeship. To these four frigates the Congress was subsequently added; and the three first named, the Secretary hoped, would sail "in the course of the present month" of May. It turned out, however, that the John Adams was the only one of the five, which arrived in season to aid the operations of the original squadron during the year.

Meantime, Preble, hearing nothing from the department, was continually importuning for more frigates, to be "able to show the Bashaw more ships." As the spring advanced, he became impatient, and wrote to Colonel Lear, that, as the Constitution was the only frigate in the Mediterranean, he was compelled occasionally to leave his station off Tripoli to attend to equally imperative duties elsewhere; and he remarked, "It is surprising that more force has not been sent out." He was doomed to the inquietudes of still further suspense; for, on the 29th of June, or about eight months after the loss of the Philadelphia, he had received no official intelligence from the United States on the subject, and was ignorant whether the government would supply her place with another vessel of her rate, and whether, also,

the additional means, so frequently and earnestly solicited, were to be placed at his disposal. Thus left to consult his own judgment, he was at entire liberty to maintain as close a blockade as circumstances would allow, and to remain wholly inactive as far as all offensive demonstrations were concerned, or create, by his own resources, an armament, which would enable him to assail the walls of his enemy. Consoling himself with the thought, addressed to Cathcart, that "the smaller force we have, the more glory," he chose the latter course, and bent his whole energies to complete the preparations, and to execute the plans, which, while anxiously expecting support from home, he had gradually and prudently matured. The results we have considered.

Lest it should be imagined, that a fair and impartial view of Preble's situation has not been given, it is deemed proper to add to his own expressions, and to the opinions of Lear and O'Brien, which have been quoted, the very conclusive testimony, which was finally rendered by the Secretary of the Navy himself. "We knew," said he, "that the force under your command was not adequate to carry on vigorous and effectual measures against Tripoli, and watch the coast of Morocco and Tunis." With such an admission

before us, it is pertinent and proper to ask, why an officer of Preble's merit was at first sent upon so severe and difficult a duty, without "adequate" means, and why the error was not more promptly corrected. It was more than a year between the date of the Commodore's first request for "more frigates," and the arrival in the Mediterranean of the additional ships. Such lack of support and encouragement from the government would have nearly discouraged some men, though, with Preble, inattention to his wants only increased his own exertions.

Another fact demands consideration. While his squadron was inefficient in the number and rate of the ships, the vessels which composed it were actually wanting in their complement, and in the quality of their seamen. That our public ships should have been manned thus, is the most surprising of all. One hundred and twenty able, and one hundred and seventy-two ordinary, seamen and boys, had been previously allowed to the *Constitution*, and frigates of her class; but, "I am persuaded," wrote the Secretary, "the number is too great." Preble said, in reply, "one hundred and fifty of the latter *will do*," and thus went to sea short of men. Nor did those whom he obtained suit him; but the econom-

ical government would not pay the same wages that were given by merchants, and he was compelled to enlist such as offered. Those who did engage were principally foreigners; and, when nearly ready to proceed to the Mediterranean, he wrote to the department, "I do not believe that I have twenty native American sailors on board." Just so was it with the *Philadelphia*, which ship was fitted at a different port; since Bainbridge, from prison, twice suggested to the Commodore, from motives of humanity, the propriety of allowing Lord Nelson to claim the English subjects among her crew, three fourths of the whole being of that description. These are remarkable disclosures, most certainly, and throw no unconsiderable light upon the controversy between the two governments, on the questions of impressment, and of our right to employ British seamen in our public and private marine, which points, it will be recollected, formed one of the two ostensible or avowed causes of war a few years after.

The evil effects of the ill-judged parsimony of the administration were soon visible; and desertions to the British ships of war became frequent. The commanders of several afforded them protection, and Preble made earnest and repeated remonstrances against a practice, which

threatened utter ruin to the efficiency and discipline of his force. Obtaining no considerable redress, after forcibly stating the evil to the British officers, who possessed the ability, but lacked the will, to remedy it, he resolved, and principally for this reason, to transfer his deposit of provisions and stores from ports under their government, which were visited by them, and to form an establishment for himself at Syracuse.

Nor were these the only troubles from this source. Commodore Morris, of the second squadron, had made "an imprudent promise" to the crew of the *Enterprise*, that they should be discharged at a moment when his successor's plans would require them the most; and Preble had hardly reached the Mediterranean, when he was compelled to ask, that men should be sent from the United States to take their places. The result of this state of things was, that, in the attacks of which we have spoken, the *Constitution*, and all the brigs and schooners, were compelled to go into action very short of their complement; to use Preble's own words to the department, with "nearly half of their crews taken out, to man the bombs, gunboats, and ships' boats." And such continued to be the case until the arrival of the *John Adams*, when, however, so serious a difficulty was only partially removed.

With all these disadvantages to contend against, what did not the third squadron accomplish? No addition was made to it, except of Preble's own creation, save the John Adams. That ship was promised to be on the station in April, but she did not make her appearance until August; and, late as was her arrival, she probably did some harm, as well as good. When the Bashaw saw that she took no part in the battles, he was "astonished," and suspected that she was armed *en flute*, or that there existed a misunderstanding between her commander and the Commodore, and gained confidence accordingly. She "would have been a pleasing sight," was Preble's declaration to Captain Schomberg of the British navy, "if she had not left her gun carriages on board the squadron in Hampton Roads." Painful were the emotions, bitter the reflections, of the daring seaman whose deeds we recount, when exposed to the tremendous fire of the Tripolitan batteries.

In wearing and tacking, the Constitution was in great peril; and, "it was then," said he, "I most sensibly felt the want of another frigate." In his anguish, he might have exclaimed, as did Nelson in a similar emergency, in his despatches to the Admiralty, "Were I to die this moment, *want of frigates* would

be found stamped on my heart. No words of mine can express what I have suffered, and am suffering, for want of them."

In further estimating the labors and embarrassments of an officer of our navy, commanding in a distant sea, at this period, several circumstances are to be noticed. The first and principal can be stated in a single word; namely, that we had no established naval, and scarcely a recognized national character. Our flag was not either generally known or respected. Our commercial intercourse was limited; and of the reciprocity treaties, now so common, not one then existed; nor, indeed, was such a policy seriously entertained. At home, the navy was not only out of favor with a large part of the country, but its increase, and measures to render its organization efficient, were violently opposed.

In a word, the government gave itself little concern about the navy, and hardly provided itself with the most necessary and common articles required in fitting ships for sea. Some of the difficulties encountered in equipping the Constitution have been related. But there were others. The Commodore asked that her ward-room officers might be allowed furniture; for, he urged, they "are very desirous of having their apartment decently furnished, that they

may receive those gentlemen, who visit the ship abroad, in a manner suitable to their rank as officers, and agreeable to their feelings." The appeal produced no change in the determination of the department not to furnish the ward-room with furniture at the public charge; but their chief was allowed to advance a month's pay, in order that they might provide it for themselves. Some gun carriages had been made purposely for the Constitution, before Preble joined her; but when he came to mount the guns, they were found so high, that they could not be worked in the ports, and the ship was delayed while they were taken out to be altered. He desired a particular description of cannon on her upper deck; and, though the Secretary thought the idea "an excellent one," he told him that they could not be procured here, and recommended that they should be obtained at Gibraltar, and that the guns carried out should be sent home in one of the returning ships of the second squadron. Almost at the last moment, the flagship had not received a set of private, general, and night-and-day signals; but "Lieutenant Smith, of the Vixen will carry out a set, and you will not wait," said the head of the navy department. Yet one copy reached Boston in time. It was at a late hour, too, when four copies of the act for

the better government of the navy, were transmitted from Washington; and the apology given was, that "we had no loose copies printed." These examples of the wretched system of things, that prevailed in the service forty years ago, will suffice to show how little was done for the officers who were appointed to commands, and how much they were compelled to do for themselves.

Nor, when abroad, were they properly cared for, or their wants duly attended to. Six days after Preble had arrived in the Mediterranean, he advised the department, that, in consequence of the war between England and France, "it is absolutely necessary that every article which composes our rations should be sent from the United States." Language could hardly be stronger, and it was repeated a month later, when wood and coal were added, as necessary to be shipped with the provisions. So early notice gave ample time for preparation; but how was he supplied? Two thirds of the first lot of beef were condemned and thrown overboard, being too offensive to be retained in the ship; and as large a proportion of the pork was found to be completely spoiled. "Of course," wrote the Commodore, "we shall soon be destitute of salt provisions." Another shipment was no better. Nor had the flagship been on

the station two months, before her commander, not half furnished, it would seem, with anything, asked that a stock of slop clothing, and even that a quantity of canvass and twine, should be sent out to him. Nine days later, on the 9th of November, 1803, the surgeon of the Constitution, in reporting the health of the ship, assigned, as one of the causes of sickness on board, the fact, that "a considerable number of the seamen were insufficiently clad."

The Constitution lost one cable, and parted another in two places, and was of course to be furnished with new ones; and, strange enough, was compelled to lie at Cadiz until two were made for her in the open field, at a time when rain was almost incessant, and all outdoor labor was suspended. That ship, the Vixen, and the Siren, lost anchors, and others, to avoid the Mediterranean price of twenty-five cents the pound, in case of future accidents, it was suggested, had better be sent from home. The squadron was indifferently supplied with spare spars; and even a number of these, such was the state of affairs, it was requested should be shipped from the United States. Wounded spars were made "to do," said Preble; but, in the event of losing a lower mast or bowsprit, "I should be obliged to leave my station and go to Toulon to replace it; which would, to me, be a grievous and mortify-

ing circumstance." Nor was there a proper number of water casks; and, with the squadron in force before Tripoli for an attack, Preble was compelled in the emergency to apply to his friend Captain Schomberg, of the British navy, who courteously lent him a quantity, which "had just been coopered for the use of the fleet" of Nelson. Conduct so handsome is the more to be noticed, since our navy agent at Malta remarked, that it was impossible for him to procure other casks.

The last circumstance, which we shall mention, is, that bills drawn by officers acting under the authority of our government were negotiated with difficulty, and at a loss. A sum of specie was carried out; and, husbanded as it was by the commanders of the different vessels, who sometimes met with an American gentleman who had funds in Europe, and would take drafts on the United States at par, it served a good purpose. But, as the whole amount was inconsiderable, the great reliance was on drawing exchange and selling it, ordinarily, to the best purchase that offered; and, in ministering to the necessities of Bainbridge and his companions in captivity, the inconvenience of converting bills into money was at first serious and expensive.

Enough has been said to convey a general idea of the embarrassments, which existed and

were to be overcome, in the infancy of our navy, and which were probably met with, very generally, by officers who bore our flag to distant seas. Few such difficulties, it is presumed, are now known. They have been mentioned with some particularity, because justice to Commodore Preble seemed to require it, and because the space, which the account of them occupies in the manuscript documents in my possession, proves incontestably that they were of serious moment.

Nor should it escape observation, that the period of Preble's service was unusually boisterous; and Nelson's emphatic declaration was, that "the Mediterranean seemed altered." And "it was his rule," so speaks his biographer, "never to contend with the gales." Preble's vessels were exposed, by their peculiar duty, to the fury of many gales. The flagship, in the autumn of 1803, found the weather extremely severe, and the frequent "call of all hands," with forty able and nine ordinary seamen short of complement, made the duty of her officers and crew very hard and fatiguing. Commodore Dale, of the first squadron, had been ordered to quit that sea by the 1st of December; but, as late as the 23d of that month, the Constitution was off Tripoli, and, encountering a storm, was driven at its mercy. The Siren, under Stewart, some little time earlier, after successfully resisting two

gales, was thrown upon her beam ends by a third ; and so long and obstinate was the storm, that she was able to carry no canvass but storm-staysails for ten days, during which time Stewart's only officers, in health to perform duty, were two young and inexperienced midshipmen. Smith, in the *Vixen*, under orders to proceed from Malta to Gibraltar with despatches, after buffeting the seas for twenty-two days, was compelled to return. Hull, in the *Argus*, kept at sea for nearly sixty days preceding the 9th of January, 1804, without communicating with a single port, but was finally forced from his winter station into Carthagen. The *Enterprise* had become unsafe, and was kept in port. As the spring opened, the *Nautilus* in command of Somers, damaged by the winds and waves, and defective from other causes, was sent to Messina, where she was nearly rebuilt.

The gales that retarded the operations of the squadron when assembled in force, and with bomb-vessels and gunboats in tow for the attacks on Tripoli, later in the season, and in the months of July and August, were noticed in their proper place ; and we have occasion now only to add, that when, on the 10th of September, Preble transferred the command to Barron, he called the special attention of that officer to the situation of the *Constitution*, remarking that "she

ought not to be exposed to the hazard of a heavy gale of wind, which we have good reason soon to expect," before being thoroughly refitted in port.

Here we end our account of the contest of the third squadron, with winds and waters, with Tripolitan flotillas, castles, and batteries; and also our brief survey of the many and various obstacles, which its ships and officers met with and overcame, between May, 1803, and September, 1804. The period was short; but none more memorable, or of greater benefit to our national character, is to be found in our naval annals. Every citizen of the republic may look back to it with pride and unalloyed satisfaction.

CHAPTER VIII.

Preble's Attention to Bainbridge and his Associates in Prison. — Correspondence between the two Officers. — Difficulty of supplying our Countrymen in Prison at Tripoli with Clothing, Money, and Stores. — Kindness of the Bashaw's Prime Minister, and of the Danish Consul. — Indifference of Consuls of other Christian Powers.

WE pass to the consideration of a prominent trait in Commodore Preble's character; his

kindness of heart as a man, evinced in his treatment of those of his command, who fell into the Bashaw's hands, and thus caused both him and his successors much embarrassment. It has been seen, that the loss of the Philadelphia, at the first, deranged Preble's offensive operations very seriously, and that finally, when the questions of peace and ransom came up, it was the means of prolonging the war.

The two officers, as has been mentioned, kept up a correspondence with each other. This was of two kinds; one open and allowed; the other secret and in cipher, by the use of lime-juice instead of ink. Bainbridge was made prisoner on the 31st of October, 1803. Between that time and the 25th of November following, he wrote to his chief no less than eight letters on the subject of his calamity, and his condition as a prisoner. A single extract must suffice. "I severely feel," said he, "the loss which my country has sustained, but feel conscious that no impropriety in truth can be attached to me; and have not a doubt, on investigation, but it will appear so to my government. Still, I am no stranger to the censures of an ungenerous world, and the premature opinions which are too hastily formed on the misfortunes of the unfortunate." Again, "The only alternative left of becoming pris-

oners to Tripoli, was that of blowing the ship up. Some fanatics may say, that was the proper one to have pursued. I never presumed to think, that I had the liberty of putting to death three hundred and six souls, because they were placed under my command."

Preble, in acknowledging the receipt of four letters, responded, "Your situation is truly distressing, and affects your friends too powerfully to be described. You may rest assured, that in me you have a friend, whose exertions shall never be wanting in endeavoring to relieve you; and in the mean time you may command such supplies of money, for the comfort of yourself, officers, and crew, as you may require." After many similar expressions of tender regard, and detailing the operations of the squadron, that Bainbridge might learn how affairs were proceeding, Preble added, "Conscious yourself of having done your duty, and the certificate of your officers approving your conduct and exertions on the day the ship was lost, must afford you consolation amidst your misfortunes." To Mr. Pulis, our Consul at Malta, the Commodore wrote, about the same time, "You have done right in sending Captain Bainbridge three hundred dollars; and if it had been three thousand, I should be an-

swerable for the supply." Again, before the close of the month, in a second letter to the captive officer, when arranging to send to him various articles for the comfort of the prisoners, he said, "Make known to me what articles you stand most in need of, and, be assured, every attention shall be paid to your wants." That no endeavors might be spared to alleviate the sufferings of his countrymen, he addressed Mr. Nissen, the Danish Consul at Tripoli, thus; "I wish exceedingly to see you. Come off to me, if you can, when I appear with the squadron before Tripoli. I will hoist a red flag at the fore-top-gallant-mast head, as a signal by which you may know the Constitution. I wish to establish funds for the supply of Captain Bainbridge and his officers; and now assure you, that any advances for their support and comfort, which you have in your power to make, shall be readily repaid by me, on account of my government." In a communication to the Secretary, he remarked, "Would to God I could release them."

Among the crew of the Philadelphia were some infamous characters, and unrestrained by discipline. Bainbridge said they would "even rob the last jacket from their shipmates to sell for liquor to get drunk on." These, and especially Wilson, the Captain's coxswain, and

his favorite, behaved in a most shameful manner, and, besides personally and impudently insulting his captive commander and other officers, strove to exasperate the Bashaw, and induce him to treat his prisoners with severity. Wilson claimed the protection of the Swedish Consul as a Swede; but as Bainbridge wished that he might be retained to be punished for his evil conduct, when all should be restored to freedom, the Commodore's intercession was desired and exercised in a severe rebuke to the Swedish functionary. "The moment I learn," said he, in the course of his letter, "that you protect Wilson, I shall make a representation to the President of the United States, and to our Minister at the Court of St. James, in order that your conduct may be complained of to the King, your master. I hope and trust, Sir, that you are not so far lost to every sense of honor and humanity, as to support a scoundrel in the abuse of gentlemen, merely because they are unfortunate." It is not likely that this was felt, for Bainbridge remarked, that the Consul's character was such, as to prevent the least communication with him.

There was difficulty from another cause. The Bashaw kept the crew at work; and as there were several mechanics, they were ex-

tremely serviceable to him, in increasing and repairing his flotilla and other defences. Upon Bainbridge's suggestion, his superior addressed the petty officers, seamen, and marines on the subject, early in January, 1804, assuring them that because prisoners they were not slaves; that if, on their refusal to perform labor for his Highness, he should punish them, retaliation would follow upon the Tripolitans on board of the vessels of the squadron; that, if they continued obedient to their officers, they would be released in due time, would be allowed pay during the whole period of their captivity, and until their arrival in the United States, and that means would be taken to keep them comfortably clothed. "Behave like Americans," he concluded; "be firm, and do not despair; the time of your liberation is not far distant." The Commodore also addressed a long communication, on the same subject, to the Bashaw's Prime Minister, in which, lest motives of humanity might prove insufficient to induce kind treatment of the prisoners, he urged the consideration of interest, by assurances, that, in the event of ransom being finally paid for them, only those who refused to work as slaves would be reclaimed, or entitled to redemption, and still further, that all who should voluntarily engage in the service of

Tripoli would become traitors, and make themselves liable to the punishment of death, should they ever fall into the hands of their countrymen. And it may be observed, that, at this time, Wilson and several others had embraced the faith of the prophet.

Preble was at Malta on the 16th of January, for the purpose of forwarding letters, bundles of newspapers, and stores, to the captives; and in a letter to Bainbridge from that place, he bade him "keep up a good heart, and for God's sake not to despair." "Rest assured, my dear friend, that every exertion of mine shall be made to lighten your captivity, and to release you. I have sent you a suit of clothes, to the care of the English Consul."

Of the Commodore's kind offices, Bainbridge as yet knew nothing. Six or eight letters had been written by the former, previous to the 18th of January; but, on that day, the latter said he had heard nothing from him since his captivity. Before the close of the month, Colonel Lear had lodged ten thousand dollars in Tunis, subject to Bainbridge's drafts; and Preble told Cathcart, that the prisoners could now want for nothing except liberty.

Bainbridge was still without information from his chief. Nor was it until the 16th of February, three months and a half from the time

of his capture, that he had that pleasure ; when five letters came at once. In acknowledging, on that day, these several communications, he poured out his gratitude like a flood, and renewedly indulged in the painful reflections which harassed him on account of the circumstances, which had attended the loss of his frigate. Of Preble's kindness he spoke thus ; " Words are too light to express my feelings ; if ever opportunity offers, actions shall convince you how much I estimate all your attentions." At this date, the prisoners were reduced to two hundred and ninety-eight ; two having died, and seven having abjured their religion.

On the 26th of March, when off Tripoli, the Commodore sent in letters from America, and three from himself, and closed the one of that date with saying, " Anything and everything I have, that can contribute to your comfort, you may command. I expect to have further communication with the shore, and shall write to you again. Adieu, for the present." Accordingly, on the next day, a very long and feeling letter followed. After indicating the manner in which Bainbridge would receive a considerable quantity of clothing for his men, some surgical instruments and medical stores, after telling him to make known the special wants of himself and officers, and that he had sent one of his own

officers to Gibraltar in charge of letters for America, he thus concludes ; " I shall send you a present of claret, porter, cider, cheese, coffee, sugar, &c., from my own stores, which you will do me a favor to accept. Mr. Izard* tells me you have grown thin ; I fear, my friend, you let your misfortunes bear too heavily on your mind, by which you may destroy your health. Recollect that destiny, and not want of courage, has deprived you of liberty, but not of honor. You will, I hope, ere long revisit your native country, and meet the approbation of your fellow-citizens and confidence of our government." Bainbridge replied on the same day, and again on the 29th of March. " I hope a speedy peace will take place, but cannot expect it incompatible with the dignity of our country. Vigorous exertions may crown our wishes." Again, " Mr. Izard's report is true ; I am quite thin. Your sympathy I justly estimate. In spite of every effort of my own, and your good advice, I cannot prevent sad reflections. My character, my loss of services to my country and my family, are painful subjects to contemplate in a close prison in Tripoli."

The press of preparations for the commencement of hostilities, the watching of Tunis and various other matters, kept the flagship

* The American officer who went on shore.

away from the blockading force, and the correspondence on the part of the Commodore was for a time suspended. But on the 12th of June, he was again off Tripoli, and again communicated with his Captain in prison, as he did also from the Bay of Tunis on the 19th. By this time, so many impediments had been placed in the way of forwarding the clothing and other comforts destined for the prisoners, and the Bashaw so obstinately persisted in his refusal to allow boats from the squadron to land, that they were actually suffering. Preble at length obtained leave to use a neutral flag for the purpose, and accordingly wrote an earnest request to Sir Alexander Ball, the governor of Malta, to afford him, as a neutral and the most respected flag, his aid in sending the necessary food and raiment, by a vessel in which the British Consul was embarking for Tripoli; but, unfortunately, she had sailed. Still further soliciting the good offices of the governor, whose whole course shows him to have been a true-hearted man, he subsequently desired him to forward to Bainbridge one hundred and twenty-five doubloons in money, as sent by himself, and to be intrusted for security to the Consul of his nation. Letters were also addressed to the Danish Consul, and to the Bashaw's Minister, on the subject of the supplies, which consisted of fourteen bales of

summer and winter clothing and a quantity of provisions and stores. A conveyance was at last found; and, on the 10th of July, Preble was advised, much to his relief and gratification, that the whole had safely reached the prisoners, and, by the generous conduct of the Minister, was entirely under the control of the proper American officer.

Bainbridge had now been in prison upwards of eight months, and, on the 7th of July, informed the Commodore, that, until that day, he had not heard from him since the 27th of the preceding March, nor from friends in the United States during the whole period of his captivity. In the course of a long *lemon-juice* letter of that date, he remarked, "We wish to live cheap, as, in fact, we have lost all relish for dainties, except books, which we are supplied with. Our prison represents a college of students." And, writing again on the subsequent day, he made known that the extreme heat of the weather caused their close confinement to become extremely disagreeable. His open communication of the 7th of July shows his affectionate regard for the Commodore, and his state of feeling in other respects. He added, also, "I left a uniform coat with Mr. Pulis, to have the button-holes worked. I wish you would receive it from him. It is a handsome-cut coat; I believe it will fit you. If

so, please use it as your own; for God only knows when I shall have an occasion to appear in full uniform."* He had then been permitted to look out upon the sea only four times in five months.

We here close our notice of the correspondence between the two officers, so honorable to both. The copies of seventeen letters from Preble to Bainbridge have been preserved; few of them, however, bear date after the 1st of July, and these relate principally to events which we have considered when speaking of his attacks and negotiations. The Captain's letters to him, subsequently to the period at which we have arrived, were also generally devoted to warlike suggestions, and reports of circumstances affecting the Commodore's plans and operations.

It is delightful to observe the spirit manifested on both sides, throughout the intercourse of these generous-hearted seamen, who left home panting to do their country service, but who now, by the chances of war, were so

* It is of interest to add, that, after the Commodore's decease, his family presented to Bainbridge his dress uniform. In acknowledging the receipt of "this memento of his much valued, departed friend, whose naval career was most glorious," Bainbridge speaks of the length, intimacy, and sincerity of their friendship, in the most affectionate terms.

very differently situated. And, while we have endeavored to convey to the reader some idea of its nature, and thus to show a trait in the character of each, due regard to justice requires us to record, that others besides Preble sought to minister to the necessities of our captive countrymen. First in merit, if the difficulties of his position be fully regarded, was Sidi Muhammed Dghies, the Prime Minister of Tripoli, of whom we have so often spoken. Strange as this may seem, such is unquestionably the fact. No epithet of reproach or disrespect to this gentleman is to be found; but, on the contrary, the most full and continued testimony is borne to his delicacy, his humanity, and his attention. Bainbridge represents, that he was "a man of the world, of great discernment, and much politeness;" while Preble frequently and warmly thanks him for his many acts of kindness to the prisoners, and this not only in communications to the Minister himself, but in those to others. To Nicholas C. Nissen, the Danish Consul, it would appear that too high praise can hardly be given. He was the first Christian seen by the captives after landing upon the inhospitable shores of Africa; and, during the nineteen months and three days, that they continued in prison, he was unremitting in his endeavors to serve them. If,

on the night of their touching these shores, he sent food and bedding from his own house, so did he continue his philanthropic exertions at every inconvenience, and at much personal risk, and, at times, at the hazard even of his life. Bainbridge, in a handsome letter to the Secretary, stated his distinguished benevolence; and Congress passed a resolution, requesting the President to communicate to him the high sense entertained by that body of his disinterested and noble conduct. So marked a disposition on the part of this gentleman to serve the unfortunate, is the more to be commended, as no other Consul at Tripoli manifested anything like his zeal; and the coldness and indifference of some of them drew from Preble strong expressions of indignation.

Allowing these persons to pass without naming them, we cannot suffer our Consul at Malta to escape so easily; for upon him there were claims, which he could not innocently disregard. We have more than once alluded to the long periods that elapsed, in which, though Preble and Bainbridge frequently wrote to each other, no letters were received by either; and it may be added here, that the despicable meanness of Joseph Pulis was at the bottom of this singular mystery. He was detected in diverting letters from their proper

address, and in sending those that came to him from America, for Bainbridge and his officers, to places from which they would never have been returned; while those of the Commodore to that gentleman were enclosed under cover, and directed to the United States. There may be a difficulty in accounting for cruelty so wanton; but there seems to have been positive proof of the fact, and conclusive evidence that his conduct was the result of deliberate choice, not of accident. Much is said of this man; and even if a liberal allowance be made, he did little honor to our consular corps. Preble wrote to the Secretary of the Navy a full account of the transaction about the letters, and said he personally detected him in the conduct here related. The Commodore stated, moreover, that Pulis had been a Consul of the Bashaw of Tripoli, and that "no respectability attached to his character."

CHAPTER IX.

Remarks on Preble's Recall. — Testimonials to his Merits. — Officers distinguished in the War of 1812, who served under him. — He adjusts his Concerns in the Mediterranean. — Returns to the United States.

THE recall of Preble was a blunder. The country felt, and the administration admitted, that in all respects he was the officer for the duty upon which he was sent. The reason for his removal from the command of the squadron was, simply, that, as James Barron, Bainbridge, and Campbell were the only captains in the service, who were his juniors, he could not be retained without being placed over other captains who were his seniors. But he would have been satisfied with a reinforcement of two frigates; and, had only two been sent, no change would have been necessary, as Bainbridge was in prison. The difficulty could also have been obviated in another way, by the mere promotion of the requisite number of lieutenants, of whom two of his own commanders, Stewart and Hull, were at the head of the list.

As, in the public mind, a recall often implies

censure, it is deemed proper to introduce some portion of the very full testimony that exists to sustain the opinion here expressed, namely, that the question of rank was the real, as well as the professed, reason for transferring the direction of our affairs in the Mediterranean to Commodore Samuel Barron.

On the 7th of May, 1804, the Secretary wrote to Preble thus; "It is with great pleasure that I repeat to you the assurance, that your whole conduct has received the unqualified approbation of the President of the United States, and that his confidence in your zeal and judgment remains unabated." The order appointing a successor was written fourteen days after, and contains the following passages; "Your good sense will perceive, that we have been unavoidably constrained to supersede you in a command in which you have acquitted yourself in a manner honorable to yourself, useful to your country, and in all respects perfectly satisfactory to us. Be assured, Sir, that no want of confidence in you has been mingled with the considerations, which have imposed upon us the necessity of this measure. You have fulfilled our highest expectations; and the President has given it in an especial charge to me to declare, that he has the highest confidence in your activity,

judgment, and valor. Through me, he desires to convey to you his thanks for the very important services, which you have rendered to your country. And I beg you to be assured, Sir, that it affords me great personal satisfaction to be the medium of conveying to you his sentiments in relation to your conduct." If it be recollected, that the same President had dismissed Preble's predecessor from the navy without a trial; that in politics he differed from the administration; and that his five attacks of Tripoli were unknown, and had not indeed been made, at the date of these communications from the department; the full value of so unqualified an approbation will be perceived. Many and similar tributes are to be met with in subsequent as well as in previous letters from the Secretary; but it is unnecessary to repeat them.

Equally direct and marked was the commendation, which Preble received from various gentlemen, who were present at the scene of his arduous duties. "To tell you," wrote Colonel Lear, "what I think of your conduct since you have been in this sea, would appear too much like flattery." Said Mr. Davis, our Consul at Tunis, "You have laid the foundation for a national character. Your example will stimulate all the secondary nations, and, I

trust, finally destroy the false policy of Europe." Mr. Higgins, our navy agent at Malta, for whom the Commodore appears to have entertained strong regard, and to whom he enclosed a copy of the Secretary's despatch, announcing that he was to be superseded, wrote, "I will be bold to say, that the thanks of the President, and the warm approbation of your country, are not more than a well earned tribute to the efforts you have made to serve it."

It has been remarked, that at the first Preble's officers disliked him; but he had won their affection, and, on his retiring from the command, they, with entire unanimity, presented to him an address expressive of the kindest sentiments. A paper of this description, as from inferiors to an official superior, is, perhaps, seldom proper; but, in this case, if we regard the peculiar circumstances under which this superior and these inferiors met and parted, the motive alone may be considered, and thus not only excuse the act itself, but render it one of the most certain proofs, which have been preserved, of the Commodore's personal and professional merits. This address bears the signatures of no less than fifty-three officers; and, if we take into view, that among them were Stewart and Hull, who subsequently gained honorable victories from the deck of his own

flagship ; Decatur, the vanquisher of the Macedonian ; Lawrence, who captured the Peacock, and who, with his dying words, forbade the surrender of that ill-omened ship, the Chesapeake ; McDonough, the victor on Lake Champlain ; Burrows, who fell in the contest with the Boxer ; Chauncey and Morris, and many others, whose names are dear to the nation ; we can estimate the worth of the testimonial. Immured in prison at this time were Bainbridge, who a few years afterwards sunk the Java ; and Jones, who captured the Frolic ; and Biddle, who closed the series of memorable exploits upon the ocean by sinking the Penguin. Thus it happened, that a large proportion of the successful commanders in the war of 1812 acted under Preble's orders. To have had any share in training these officers is of itself an honor.

Nor was the expression of opinion, on this occasion, confined to officers of our own government. To Preble the appointment of a successor was unexpected ; and his feelings were evidently wounded by this act of the government.

He had many friends among the civilians and the military and naval characters whom he had met, and had received a letter of introduction to Nelson. Of his acquaintances at

Gibraltar were the Governor, whom he highly esteemed, General Barnet, General Fox, and Colonel Tyres; while his relations with Sir Alexander Ball, the Governor of Malta, and with Captain Schomberg, of the British navy, were intimate.* Sir Alexander Ball was one of Nelson's captains, and commanded the *Alexander* ship of the line, in the battle of the Nile, and, as his Lordship said on that occasion, was one of his "supporters." At this time, he was in correspondence with both Nelson and Preble. His position, therefore, was too independent for adulation, and the general reputation of our navy in 1804 could not have predisposed him to offer it. To him Preble enclosed a copy of the Secretary's letter, the last from which we have quoted, and wrote to Captain Schomberg, apprizing him of the fact. In his letter of reply, the Baronet said, "I have communicated this to all those I know. They join me in regretting that an officer, whose talents and professional abilities have been justly appreciated, and whose manners and conduct eminently fit him for so high a command, should be removed from it."

* Letters marked *confidential* were written to Preble by Ball, after the former had returned to the United States, and their contents show that the relations between them were indeed of the nature stated in the text.

Here the subject might well have ended ; but Ball, in a subsequent letter, remarked, "I beg to repeat my congratulations on the services which you have rendered your country, and the hair-breadth escapes you have had, in setting so distinguished an example to your countrymen. If I were to offer my humble opinion, it would be, that you have done well in not purchasing a peace with money. A few brave men have been sacrificed ; but they could not have fallen in a better cause ; and I even conceive it better to risk more lives, than to submit to terms, which might encourage the Barbary states to add fresh demands and insults."

We may now appropriately close, with the high compliment of his Holiness the Pope. "The American commander, with a small force, and in a short space of time, has done more for the cause of Christianity, than the most powerful nations of Christendom have done for ages."

After transferring the squadron to Barron, much remained to be done ; and about four months elapsed before the Commodore took his departure for the United States. While closing his accounts with the various consuls and navy agents, and while disposing of other official busi-

ness, he visited Malta twice, Messina twice, and Syracuse twice, and was also at Palermo, Naples, Gibraltar, and Tangiers. At Naples he was introduced at court. Having resigned the Constitution to Decatur; having endeavored to arrange with the Neapolitan government, on behalf of Barron, for bomb-vessels and mortars, gunboats, cannon, shot, and shells, to be used the next season; having written farewell letters to Bainbridge, Colonel Lear, Sir Alexander Ball, and several other friends, he sailed for home in the *John Adams*, in January, 1805. This ship had on board all the invalid officers and men of the squadron; and her destination was Washington. But, on the 22d of February, it was reported, that the quantity of water was becoming short, and he advised Chauncey, who was in command, to make for the nearest safe port in the United States. Four days after, she arrived at New York. Preble repaired to the seat of government with but little delay, reaching Washington on the 4th of March.

CHAPTER X.

Remarks on Preble's Services in the Mediterranean.

— *Reduction of the Navy in 1806. — His private Correspondence. — His failing Health. — He is solicited to remove to Washington. — Offered the Navy Agency at Boston. — Measures attempted for the Restoration of his Health. — His Death. — Funeral Honors.*

THE services of Preble had made a deep impression ; and, on his return to his native country, thinking men paid him distinguished honor. A few days previous to his arrival, the President had communicated to both Houses of Congress an account of his proceedings between the 9th of July and the 10th of September, 1804, which embraced the period of his most important operations ; and, in the accompanying message, remarked that "the energy and judgment displayed by this excellent officer, through the whole course of the service lately confided to him, and the zeal and bravery of his officers and men in the several enterprises executed by them, cannot fail to give high satisfaction to Congress and their country, of whom they have deserved well."

On the 3d of March, the day before Preble

reached Washington, a resolution passed Congress, directing that a gold medal, emblematical of the attacks on the town, batteries, and naval force of Tripoli, should be presented to him; that a sword should also be presented to each of the commissioned officers and midshipmen, who had "distinguished themselves" in these several attacks; and that one month's extra pay should be given to each of the petty officers, seamen, and marines of the squadron. The medal was transmitted to the Commodore on the 17th of May, 1806,* and the month's pay was duly given to the persons named; but the language of the resolution respecting the officers, who were entitled to a sword, embarrassed the President, and the swords were not provided. In 1813, the subject came up in Congress. The committee of that body, after an examination, justly said, that, considering the services of Preble and those under his command "constitute one of the most brilliant portions of our naval history," it would far better become our national character to present all the officers with a token of their country's favor, than, as had been done, to afford it to none, on the plea that there was a difficulty in discriminating between those who

* American State Papers, Vol. XIV. pp. 282, 292, et seq.

had, and those who had not, "distinguished themselves."

It seems to be considered, that, soon after the Commodore's return, he was offered the post of Secretary of the Navy. This I think is a mistake. In the spring of 1805, Mr. Smith undoubtedly thought of retiring from the department, and of accepting the office of Attorney-General; and that, in accordance with this plan, Mr. Jacob Crowninshield, of Massachusetts, was offered the seat in the cabinet thus to be vacated, appears certain. But, on that gentleman's declining, Mr. Smith, it would seem, determined to remain. The rumor, however, extensively prevailed, both at home and abroad, and drew from Preble's friends the warmest expressions of satisfaction. Decatur gave the opinion, that "no person under the government could so well fill this important and honorable post;" and Chauncey said, "I pray God, that the President may have the good of the country so much at heart, as to make so judicious an appointment;" while Stewart, who, with Decatur, was still in the Mediterranean, in tendering his congratulations, alluded pleasantly to their previous relations, and assured the Commodore, that "nothing could give more real pleasure to his *boys* of the infant squadron. Barbarians! ye must then beware."

His friend Sir Alexander Ball, after testifying the sincere pleasure of hearing of "the very flattering marks of approbation of his services, that he had received throughout the United States," added, "it is reported that the President wished to give you the strongest proof of his sense of your merit, by appointing you Secretary of the Navy, which I should have rejoiced at your accepting, knowing how eminently you are fitted to fill that high office." From the tenor of Preble's letters to his correspondents at this time, it is hardly probable that he would have entered upon the responsible duties of the station, had the secretariship been actually tendered to him.

Yet his relations with the gentleman, who continued in office, were of the most intimate and confidential nature, and a mission to Europe, for the purpose of acquiring information that might be useful to the navy, was proposed to him in April, 1805; while, later in the year, he was assured, that, upon a given contingency, he should have a navy agency, or, what the Secretary thought would be preferable to him, the command of the navy yard at Washington. He was also much consulted by the department upon various matters relating to the service; and it is not perhaps too much to say, that his opinion; often asked

and given in private letters, was sometimes conclusive in determining its course of action.

In 1806, the number of the officers and seamen of the navy was limited by law. The captains were fourteen, namely, Nicholson, Murray, Samuel Barron, Rodgers, Preble, James Barron, Bainbridge, Campbell, Decatur, Tingey, Stewart, Hull, Shaw, and Chauncey. Preble, it will be seen, was the fifth in rank. The gunboat scheme, which in the course of a year or two prevailed, had already been put forth, and those who were captivated with it were pressing their views upon the attention of the country.

Without pausing to comment upon the mistaken policy of the time, we continue our narrative of Preble's career, now drawing to a close. Under the circumstances, which attended a continuance in the service, a professional life could have had few inducements; and in a letter to a naval officer, he announced his intention of soon retiring from it. He said, "I have long neglected all my private concerns, and the improvement of a valuable estate, by attending to which I might ere this have had an annual rent roll equal to my wishes. I have been deprived of every domestic enjoyment, and have expended much more money than my pay and emoluments." Besides, in

the heat of party strife, then excessive, and threatening the worst consequences to the republic, he was accused of having discharged men, under his control in the public service, merely from political considerations; and the report reached Washington, "from such a source as almost staggered the Secretary's confidence in his prudence and propriety of conduct." Preble was entirely incapable of such petty malignity; and his fast friend, Mr. Goldsborough, of the navy department, whom the Commodore deemed entirely fit to be at the head of it, took the earliest occasion to contradict the story upon his own responsibility. "Wherever I heard it mentioned, I repelled it as an untruth," said that gentleman; and though "your character required not an advocate, the feelings of friendship, which you know to be sincere, dictated what I uttered." The charge was indeed false, and was so shown by a person in office, whose political sympathies were in unison with those of the administration, before the accused denied it. The matter is here noticed to show how, forty years ago, honorable men of both the great parties regarded the right of conscience, and the stigma that would have rested upon one, even of Preble's high name, had he been guilty of such an act.

The course of events impelled him to remain in the navy; though the birth of a son, his only child, in February, 1806, added to the inducements previously existing to return to private life. His correspondence at this period with officers of the navy, and with friends abroad, is of an affectionate and delightful cast. In 1806, Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin,* of the British navy, and a native of Boston, wrote to him from Liverpool and Portsmouth, England, in the kindest terms. In one of his letters, the Admiral remarked, of the country that gave him birth, that "though destined to live out of it, I cannot help entertaining a great predilection for the worthy men in it, among whom you certainly stand foremost." While in a second, he said, "Agreeably to my promise, made to you as a brother *sailor*, and a *fisherman*, there is put on board the *New Packet*, Captain Scott, a trawl and dredge. He has had the goodness to learn the use of them, that he may teach the full grown gentlemen at Portland. Pray let me hear from you soon." After instructing him in the manner of using the fishing gear, he continued, "But do not

* Lieutenant-General John Coffin, of the British army, a brother of Sir Isaac, was a "Loyalist;" but it is believed that the Admiral was in service before the revolution.

act as an Irish captain did, who commanded a frigate here. He forgot to stop his watch buoy rope to the beam, by which means the cod of the net were lifted so high up by the weight of the buoy, that all the fish were canted out; when he wondered my scheme was so very *unproductive*."

Towards the close of 1806, the Commodore, in a communication to the Secretary, apparently panted once more for active duty. He wrote, "If a service of danger presents, I shall feel mortified at not being employed. I stand ready to proceed at a moment's warning on any service, which government may think proper to send me against any nation or people, and to shed my blood in the execution of such service." But little of life remained to him.

On its becoming known at Washington, that his health was again failing, much sympathy was manifested by those with whom he had official intercourse; and early in 1807 he was strongly urged to remove to that city, both for the benefit of his health, and that the government might have the advantage of his presence. A friend, who was high in the confidence of the administration, in April of that year, addressed to him a long letter on the subject. After speaking of the "soul-reviving

breezes" of the metropolis, and of the many beautiful situations which could be purchased there on good terms, he writes, "You are a man of enlarged views, and powerful intellect, and, for being such, I want you here. Your life is valuable to your country; therefore I want you here. I believe this climate would keep your clay in wholesome animation longer than that of which you justly complain. I love such men as you, and therefore I want you here. Between us, you would be chief counsellor." Several reasons, none of which needs be stated, prevented him from leaving New England.

He was offered, not long after, the navy agency at Boston; and it was suggested to him, that he would be allowed to retain his rank and full pay as a captain of the navy. This appointment, increasing debility compelled him to decline. On the 13th of June, the Secretary desired him to proceed to New York, to witness, and to give his opinion of, the submarine experiments of Fulton; and this, it is believed, was the last official employment, which he was asked to undertake. Before the time designated for making the proposed test of Mr. Fulton's plan for attacking and blowing up ships of war arrived, the Commodore's case was hopeless.

He had been engaged for some time in superintending the construction of several gunboats at Portland; and in the hope that short trips in the bay would be serviceable to his failing frame, he requested of the department the liberty to use one of them, which had been completed. The request was granted most readily, and in the handsomest manner.

He continued in charge of the gunboats until the arrival of Lieutenant Lawrence, who was sent to relieve him, and until he was confined to his bed. In this situation he even maintained a correspondence with the Secretary of the Navy, and gave directions with regard to the final equipment of the boats. During a momentary release from suffering, he renewed his personal supervision. Meantime, his medical advisers at Portland and Boston, and his immediate friends, united in recommending the trial of a voyage to the Island of Madeira. This, in the opinion of all, was the only course that promised to prolong his life; and he accordingly applied for liberty to embark. The difficulties, which finally produced war, were already serious; and, with a heart still as stout and as patriotic as at any former time, he said, in his letter of application, "I should not, in the present state of our foreign relations, ask permission to leave the continent, were I not in

hope, that a few weeks' absence will enable me to attend to any duty, which may be required of me."

A most unexpected event occurred, to change his purpose. On the 22d of June, Commodore James Barron, in the Chesapeake, who was bound to the Mediterranean to relieve the Constitution, on putting to sea from Hampton Roads, was pursued by Captain Humphreys, in the Leopard; and the affair between the two ships, which is too familiar for repetition here, and which threatened, for the instant, to involve England and the United States in immediate hostilities, disturbed and embittered his last moments. When the news reached Portland, he was absent on a short excursion in the gunboat. On coming in, he anchored in the lower harbor, and, according to arrangement, a valued friend, seeing the customary signal, went down to him. On communicating the tidings, this friend, a gentleman of the highest respectability, who is still alive, relates that the Commodore appeared entirely confounded. He made one exclamation indicative of intense astonishment at the occurrence, and, falling back upon his bed, did not so much as speak another word during the remainder of the interview. "I had no idea," says this gentleman, "that anything could have so moved

him." On the 10th of July, he spoke painfully of the circumstance, though without mentioning the unfortunate commander, whom the calm judgment of the well-informed of the present generation will hardly fail to view more as a victim, than as a delinquent, and earnestly entreated, in the event of a war, to be called into service. "I am very low," said he to the Secretary, "but I will obey, if I am obliged to be carried on board; the occasion would soon restore me."

Twenty-four days before his death, and probably in his last communication, he stated, that he should defer his plan of going to Madeira until he should know what was to result from this affair, and that, under the prevalent impression of a rupture, his intention was to make excursions along the Atlantic coast in a vessel, which he had chartered for the purpose, and to return to port after short absences, to learn what had in the mean time transpired. He was brought in from sea, and carried home to die. He suffered much. His disease, which was originally a debility of the digestive organs, had assumed the character of a fixed and rapid consumption; and, on Tuesday the 25th of August, 1807, his life terminated at Portland. Ten days previously to his decease, he had completed his forty-sixth year.

The citizens of his native town determined to pay to his remains every possible respect; and his funeral was an imposing pageant, uniting with the solemnities of religion masonic and military pomp and show. Business and labor were entirely suspended, and the population of Portland and the neighborhood, moved by a common impulse, and forming a large assemblage, devoted Thursday the 27th to the sad duty of his burial. It was known at Boston, that the funeral services would occur on that day, and the usual mourning honors were accordingly paid by the shipping in that port. Intelligence of his death reached Washington on the 1st of September, a few minutes past noon, and, says the National Intelligencer of the 2d of that month, "Immediately the flags of the frigates in ordinary, and at the marine garrison, were struck half-mast; at half past noon, one gun was fired at the navy yard, which was repeated every five minutes, till seventeen minutes before sunset, at which time commenced a discharge of seventeen minute guns; when, with the departing sun, the colors were struck amidst the sincere regrets of his brother officers." The event was suitably noticed in other places, while the newspaper press, and the private letters of distinguished citizens, bewailed "the loss of so much professional

talent, ardent patriotism, and civic worth, at so critical a juncture." The master spirit of our navy of that period had indeed fallen; but the young men whom he had trained, and to some of whom there is proof before me he had fulfilled the duties of a father, or of an elder brother, lived to do him honor, and to win for themselves imperishable names.

At the time of his decease, Commodore Preble had nearly completed a large and elegant mansion house at Portland, where, in possession of sufficient wealth, and the society of his family and friends, he hoped for happiness and repose. He left a wife and one son. Mrs. Preble, a lady of great excellence of character, and now venerable in years, has remained a widow. Edward Deering Preble, the son, an infant at his father's death, died at Portland of consumption, February 12th, 1846, aged forty years. Many of the Commodore's professional friends were desirous that Edward should enter the navy, and such was probably his own inclination. But the intention was abandoned; and having, in 1825, completed his education at Bowdoin College, he went abroad, and before his return visited several parts of Europe. Much of his time while absent was passed at the seats of learning. His tastes were decidedly literary, and for the bustle and excitement

of active life he had no relish. Nor did he care to mix with men, or to hold converse with the world. He loved books, and possessed a choice collection. He read those of several foreign languages. In his manners he was reserved, but courteous and urbane, and manifested the breeding of a gentleman. His natural powers were much above the ordinary cast; but, nurtured in the lap of affluence, born to a name which had been distinguished in two generations, and having neither fame nor wealth to earn for himself, the motives, which actuate those whose position in society leaves everything to be accomplished by their own exertions, were wanting. Beyond the immediate circle of his few intimate and numerous family friends he was but little known. By these his memory will be cherished. His wife, a son, and two daughters, survive.

CHAPTER XI.

Character of Commodore Preble.

IN many things Commodore Preble was a remarkable man. He died before his powers were fully tried or matured. Though he did

but little to attract the popular eye, he is still to be regarded as the most considerable naval character of his time in America. His personal courage is a point upon which we need not dwell. Disregard of danger and of death is too common a quality in the human race to deserve the high and unqualified praise which it has received. A man of weak understanding may fight a good battle, and win renown by his victories.

Commodore Preble's claims to consideration rest on higher grounds. He possessed a fruitful, vigorous, and comprehensive mind; and that he was equal to accomplishing the most important enterprises, there seems no room to doubt. He reached in a moment the results, which in ordinary men require long and calm reflection; and he carried through the plans which he conceived, with a promptness and self-confidence, that inspired and insured success. He acted upon the principle, that "the boldest measures are the safest;" and yet circumspection and prudence were distinguishing traits. His perseverance was not lessened, but rather increased, by the neglect of his government and the obstinacy of his foe. Pain and sickness did not overcome his energy, and his activity continued until nature was fairly exhausted. Qualities like these, and his

devotedness to duty, the disinterestedness which impelled him to accept of a perilous command when disease was preying upon his frame, and when the prolongation of his life imperatively demanded of him to seek repose in a home of tranquillity and ease, and recovery in the attentions of devoted friends; his sincerity and benevolence, his disregard of money except as a means of doing good, and his many benefactions to officers and others, less favored by fortune than himself, entitle him to the remembrance and gratitude of his countrymen.

During the last years of his life, and especially after his return from the Mediterranean, his opinions were solicited on the most important and delicate subjects, and in a manner which shows that his advice was to be regarded as decisive. Of naval men generally, and upon naval affairs, he appears to have been the common adviser; and private wrongs and griefs, and public embarrassments and perplexities, were alike submitted to his honor and discretion. The true character of this faithful and unwearied servant is imperfectly known to the present generation; but it was well understood by those who directed our public affairs at the opening of the century, that, to elevate his favorite arm of the national defence, to render

it respectable in the eyes of the American people and of the world, he was ready, and to a considerable extent did sacrifice ease, leisure, the endearments of domestic and social life, health, and estate. When certain professional objects should have been accomplished, he promised himself retirement; but it pleased the Disposer of all events, that the future, in which he had garnered up so much as a citizen, husband, father, and friend, should never come.

In person, he was six feet high, and of fine proportions. His attitude was erect, his step firm, and his whole appearance and port in the highest degree elegant and commanding. A distinguished clergyman relates, that, seeing him and a celebrated Indian chief in the streets of Boston, he thought at the time that they were the noblest specimens of the human race he had ever observed.

The Commodore's manners were polished, and even courtly. He saw much of the world, and mingled in the best society, both at home and in foreign countries. His address was pleasant, his voice melodious, and, until weakened by disease, of great strength; and few could sing a patriotic song or naval ode with more taste or effect. His conversational pow-

ers were good ; but he seldom spoke of himself or of his own actions, even to those with whom he was connected by the closest ties. The written productions which bear his signature were certainly of his own composition ; and embracing, as they do, almost every topic, and thrown off, as most of them were, amid harassing cares and during impaired health, they are sometimes faulty in style and defective in argument, but always direct, spirited, and concise. They exhibit high mental vigor, and are generally clothed in well chosen expressions. His correspondence, while employed in the war with Tripoli, was very extensive and burdensome. In the course of that service, questions connected with the law of blockade, and with other points of the international code, came up, and he had occasion from time to time to address the diplomatic, consular, or civil authorities of nearly every power of Europe. Matters of this description, the imprisonment of Bainbridge, and the various means devised to obtain his release, the attempt to negotiate a peace, the countenance given by the British officers to desertions from the squadron, and various other circumstances, combined to form an amount of epistolary labor, which, with the ordinary correspondence with friends and the government at home, and the difficul-

ties of creating and conducting his military force, rendered his post one of infinite toil and responsibility. His orders to his officers are remarkable for their simplicity and brevity. No enterprise failed except the last in which the *Intrepid* was employed. That success was in a good measure due to the skill and conduct of the agents, whom he despatched upon special duty, is certainly true; but it is quite as true, that something, and frequently much, depended on the plain and imperative directions which he gave them.

As a commander-in-chief, competent judges have ever admired his arrangements for battle, and the entire control maintained by signals from the flagship, when in action, over the movements of every vessel of his fleet. No officer was allowed to fight at discretion, but invariably at the moment, in the manner, and for the time, which he directed.

It remains to consider his faults. The only published imputation upon his system of conducting the Tripolitan war, which I have been able to find, consists in the remark, that "he may by some persons, perhaps, be thought to have indulged too far his aversion to the payment of a considerable ransom" for the officers and crew of the *Philadelphia*. The unpublished opinions on this point, which I have

examined, and which express the views of some of his contemporaries, give to the suggestion, thus courteously made, a point and force not quite apparent upon its face. But the subject may be dismissed with the single observation, that, however serious may have been the censures, or deep the enmity, which he incurred at the moment in particular quarters, the country, the civilized world, applauded his course; and that his "aversion to the payment of a considerable ransom" has now become, and will remain, the chief corner stone of his fame.

His discipline was rigid and even severe, and has been thought unnecessarily harsh and exacting. It was not so. All that he required of others he did himself. The officers, who came up to the line of duty which he prescribed, were sure of his approbation and of his influence in procuring promotion. Applications to serve under him were numerous, and from those, who, by previous submission to his authority, knew from actual experience its nature and extent; and gentlemen, who desired to place their sons or relatives in the navy, were solicitous that their professional career should be commenced under his eye. In a word, it was fortunate for the country, that, at a period when our armed marine was

an object of ridicule, and when Preble's own flagship was contemptuously called "a bunch of pine boards," he had the moral courage to incur obloquy and reproach for the public good.

A far more serious, and in the main a more accurate charge, relates to his temper. An officer, who served on board of the Constitution in 1804, and who is now of the highest rank, pithily remarked, that the "Commodore's bursts of passion never lasted long enough for him to take a turn on the quarter-deck." A gentleman, who was intimate with him from early childhood; who was a party in most of his boyish freaks with his school-fellows; who, when both had grown up to manhood, embarked with him in commercial adventures; who, at later periods, was a participant in almost every matter which interested him; and who was a constant attendant at his death-bed; has furnished for these pages the fact, that, "during their whole intercourse, the only misunderstanding they ever had was of less than five minutes' duration." In this case, he provoked Preble designedly, and merely to try the effect. They separated in anger; but, "without explanation on his part, the Commodore came immediately back to make up."

Yet I incline to believe, that, while he was

more than commonly placable and forgiving in his disposition, he was still subject to outbreaks of anger, which, if not ungovernable, were highly undignified. Self-control is a great virtue. Indulgence of passion is a great fault. History has recorded some instances, and tradition has preserved others, in which Preble failed to command his temper; and though such tales have lost nothing in transmission, enough seems to be certain to warrant the conclusion, that self-conquest was not among his achievements; and that his feelings, which were naturally high toned and impetuous, and which the usages on shipboard were in no way calculated to repress, were never equable, or properly restrained. But it is due to truth to say, that so serious a defect was not without some extenuating circumstances. In his latter days, ill health undoubtedly increased his irritability, and lessened his power to subdue it; and it is no less certain, that the position which he occupied in public affairs had many trials for a much more patient man.

In closing this brief account of his life, it should be recorded, that, whatever might be the violence of his resentment for the instant, he possessed a rare faculty of making and of retaining friends; that no bitter feuds occurred among his officers; and that, during his com-

mand in the Mediterranean, there was neither a court-martial nor a duel. Men, who met him and one another as strangers, parted as near kinsmen. His most confidential papers have been open to my inspection. They contain autograph letters from persons who occupied the loftiest stations, and whose names will ever appear on the pages of history. They contain, too, letters from the humblest, from the sick, the poor, the disabled in their country's service. The latter have riveted my attention far more than the former, for they show how one, who has often been called "the father of the American navy," was regarded by the friendless and the sorrowing.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

The relative Force of the four Squadrons sent to the Mediterranean.

The First Squadron, under Dale.

	<i>Guns.</i>		<i>Cost.</i>
President, (flagship,)	44	James Barron,	\$220,910 08
Philadelphia,	38	Samuel Barron,	179,349 00
Essex,	32	William Bainbridge,	139,362 50
Enterprise,	12	Andrew Sterrett,	16,240 52
	<u>126</u>		<u>\$555,862 10</u>

The Second Squadron, under Morris.

Chesapeake, (flagship,)	38	Isaac Chauncey,	\$220,677 80
Constellation,	38	Alexander Murray,	314,212 15
New York,	36	James Barron,	159,639 60
John Adams,	28	John Rodgers,	113,505 72
Adams,	28	Hugh G. Campbell,	76,622 27
Enterprise,	12	Andrew Sterrett,	16,240 52
	<u>180</u>		<u>\$900,898 06</u>

The Third Squadron, under Preble.

Constitution, (flagship,)	44	Edward Preble,	\$302,718 84
Philadelphia,	38	William Bainbridge,	179,349 00
Argus,	16	Stephen Decatur,	37,428 29
Siren,	16	Charles Stewart,	32,521 77
Nautilus,	12	Richard Somers,	18,763 51
Vixen,	12	John Smith,	20,872 73
Enterprise,	12	Isaac Hull,	16,240 52
	<u>150</u>		<u>\$607,894 66</u>

The Fourth Squadron, under Samuel Barron.

	<i>Guns.</i>		<i>Cost.</i>
Constitution, . . .	44	John Rodgers,	\$302,718 84
President,	44	Cox,	220,910 08
Constellation, . . .	38	Hugh G. Campbell, . . .	314,212 15
Congress,	38	Stephen Decatur,	197,246 81
Essex,	32	James Barron,	139,362 50
John Adams, . . .	28	Isaac Chauncey,	113,505 72
Siren,	16	Charles Stewart,	32,521 77
Argus,	16	Isaac Hull,	37,428 29
Vixen,	12	John Smith,	20,872 73
Nautilus,	12	John H. Dent,	18,763 51
Enterprise,	12	Robinson,	16,240 52
Hornet,	12	Evans,	(unknown.)
	304.		
2 Bomb-vessels,			35,751 07
10 Gunboats,			122,127 02
			<u>\$1,571,661 01</u>

No. II.

Names and Times of the Decease of many of the Naval Officers mentioned in this Memoir.

. The survivors are in small capitals.

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Rank in 1803.</i>	<i>Rank subsequently.</i>	<i>Time of Decease.</i>
Anderson, Thomas O.,	Midshipman,		April 14, 1844.
Bainbridge, William,	Captain,	Captain,	July 27, 1833.
Bainbridge, Joseph, .	Lieutenant,	"	1824.
Barron, Samuel, . . .	Captain,	"	1810.
BARRON, JAMES, . . .	"	"	
Barry, John,	"	"	Sept. 13, 1803.
BIDDLE, JAMES, . . .	Midshipman,	"	
Burrows, William, . .	"	Lt Com.	Sept. 5, 1813.
Caldwell, James R., .	Lieutenant,	Lieutenant,	August, 1804.

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Rank in 1803.</i>	<i>Rank subsequently.</i>	<i>Time of Decease.</i>
Campbell, Hugh G., .	Captain,	Captain,	1820.
Catalano, Salvador M.,	Pilot,	Sailing-Mast.	Jan. 1846.
Chauncey, Isaac, . .	Lieutenant,	Captain,	Jan. 27, 1841.
Crane, William M., .	"	"	March, 1846.
Creighton, John Orde,	Mast. Mate,	"	Oct. 20, 1838.
Dale, Richard,	Captain,	"	Feb. 24, 1826
Davis, John,	Midshipman,	Lieutenant,	1818.
Dent, John H.,	Lieutenant,	Captain,	1823.
Decatur, Stephen, . .	"	"	Mar. 22, 1820.
Decatur, James, . . .	"	Lieutenant,	Aug. 3, 1804.
Dorsey, John,	Midshipman,	Midshipman,	1804.
Evans, Samuel,	Lieutenant,	Captain,	1824.
Henly, John D.,	Midshipman,	"	1835.
Hull, Isaac,	Lieutenant,	"	Feb. 13, 1843.
Israel, Joseph,	Midshipman,	Lieutenant,	Sept. 4, 1804.
JONES, JACOB,	Lieutenant,	Captain.	
Lawrence, James, . .	"	"	June, 1813.
Morris, Richard V., .	Captain,	Dismiss'd 1804	1814.
MORRIS, CHARLES, . .	Midshipman,	Captain.	
McDonough, Thomas,	"	"	Nov. 10, 1825.
Murray, Alexander, .	Captain,	"	Oct. 6, 1821.
Nicholson, Samuel, .	"	"	Dec. 29, 1811.
Porter, David,	Lieutenant,	Captain,	Mar. 3, 1843.
Robinson, Thomas, Jr.,	"	Mast. Com.	1809.
Rodgers, John,	Captain,	Captain,	Aug. 1, 1838.
Shaw, John,	Lieutenant,	"	1823.
Somers, Richard, . .	"	Lieutenant,	Sept. 4, 1804.
STEWART, CHARLES,	"	Captain.	
Spence, Robert T., .	Midshipman,	"	1827.
Thorn, Jonathan, . .	Lieutenant,	Lieutenant,	1810.
Trippe, John,	"	Lieut. Com.	1810.
Truxton, Thomas, . .	Captain,	Captain,	May 5, 1822.
Wadsworth, Henry, .	Midshipman,	Lieutenant,	Sept. 1804.

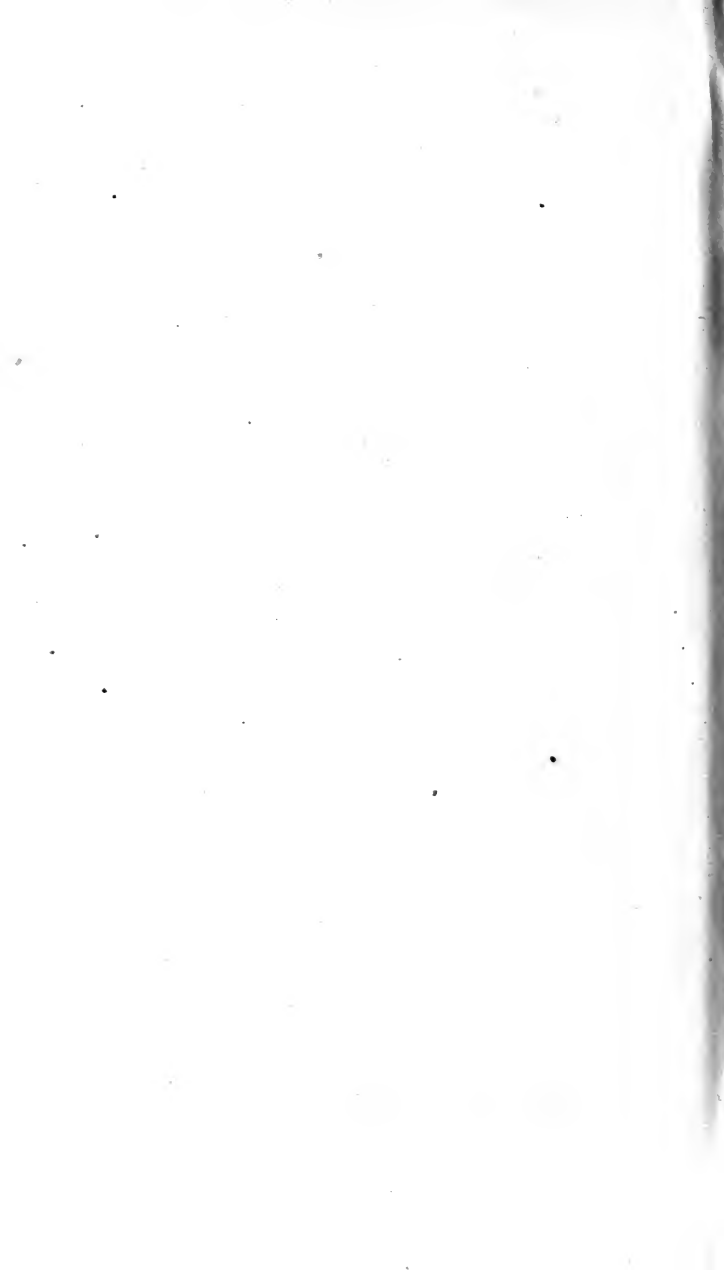
No. III.

Vessels of the four Squadrons.

Those still in service are in small capitals.

<i>Names.</i>	<i>Rate.</i>	<i>Fate.</i>
CONSTITUTION,	44	
President,	44	Captured, January, 1815
Philadelphia,	38	" October, 1803.
Essex,	32	" March, 1814
Enterprise,	12	Sold out of service.
Chesapeake,	38	Captured, June, 1813.
CONSTELLATION,	38	
New York,	36	Broken up or sold.
JOHN ADAMS,	28	
Argus,	16	Captured, August, 1813.
Siren,	16	" July, 1814.
Nautilus,	12	" " 1812.
Vixen,	12	" " 1812.
Adams,	28	Burned, September, 1814
Congress,	38	Broken up or sold.
Hornet,	12	Sold out of service.
Scourge,	14	" " " "

L I F E
OF
W I L L I A M P E N N ,
BY
G E O R G E E . E L L I S



PREFACE.

THE materials for a biography of William Penn, as a distinguished member of the Society of Friends, and as the Founder of Pennsylvania, are abundant. For the most part, they have been faithfully used. Joseph Besse, who made the first collection of his numerous writings, prefixed to them a sketch of his life, with an appendix, made up of many of his principal religious letters. The French work, by Marsillac, (*"Vie de Guillaume Penn,"* 1792, 8vo., two volumes in one,) is a compilation judiciously made, and contains some Pennsylvania documents. The magazines, encyclopædias, and biographical dictionaries, add some valuable materials, as do also several of the journals and letters of leading Quakers, contemporary with Penn. Clarkson had access to the family papers in possession of Penn's grandson in England, and his volumes, written with all the wisdom and candor of the author, contain but a very few inaccuracies. Ebeling's *"History of Pennsylvania"* affords, in its early chapters,

translated by Peter S. Duponceau, and printed in Hazard's "Register of Pennsylvania," in the main, a just view of the Proprietor.

On this side of the water, William Penn has found, among our own historians and antiquarians, faithful guardians of his memory, and devoted approvers of his whole course through life. Proud's "History of Pennsylvania," the least recommendation of which is its style, is careful and accurate. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has been most assiduous in collecting every document and fact relating to William Penn, and its labors have been eminently successful. The letters and papers with which its seven half volumes, already published, are enriched, are of the highest value. While all its members have engaged zealously in this work, two of them, J. Francis Fisher and John F. Watson, deserve especial mention, for their careful researches and rich contributions. A well written and accurate sketch of Penn's life, chiefly confined, however, to his religious labors, with large extracts from his writings, by Enoch Lewis, is given in "The Friends' Library," Vol. V. (Philadelphia, 1841.) Other sources of information are referred to in the notes.

WILLIAM PENN.

CHAPTER I.

Ancestry of William Penn. — Admiral Sir William Penn. — His public Services. — The Mother of William Penn. — Family.

WILLIAM PENN, the founder of Pennsylvania, was descended from a family distinguished for character as well as for social standing. His ancestors, five centuries ago, dwelt at the village of Penn, in Buckinghamshire, and gave their name to several localities in the neighborhood. From a branch of the family, residing at Penn's Lodge, near Myntie, in Gloucestershire, descended Giles Penn, a captain in the royal navy, and English Consul in the Mediterranean. George, his eldest son, was a merchant in Spain, where he was cruelly imprisoned by the Inquisition for three years.*

* See his petition for redress to Cromwell; also the petition of his nephew, our subject, to Queen Anne, 1712, 1713 given in Granville Penn's *Memorials of Admiral Penn*, Vol. I. Appendix.

William, the second son of Giles, and the father of the proprietary of Pennsylvania, was born in 1621. He adopted the profession of his father, and earned many high distinctions, beside that of having for his son the Quaker legislator. His monument, in the church of St. Mary Redcliffe, at Bristol, records that he "was made captain at the years of twenty-one, rear-admiral of Ireland at twenty-three, vice-admiral of Ireland at twenty-five, admiral to the Straits at twenty-nine, vice-admiral of England at thirty-one, and general in the first Dutch war at thirty-two; whence returning, anno 1655, he was parliament man for the town of Weymouth; 1660, made commissioner of the admiralty and navy, governor of the town and fort of Kingsale, vice-admiral of Munster, and a member of that provincial council; and anno 1664, was chosen great captain commander, under his Royal Highness, in that signal and most evidently successful fight against the Dutch fleet." He died in his fiftieth year.

The thorough manner in which this naval officer performed his first service of suppressing the Irish rebellion, seems to have won for him his successive promotions. He commanded the sea forces in the expedition designed by Cromwell against Hispaniola, the ill

success of which is said not to rest with the Admiral, but with Colonel Venables, who commanded the land forces. In his journal* of this expedition we find mention of the death of our own Winslow, of Plymouth colony. During the Commonwealth, the services of Admiral Penn were numerous, and well rewarded, though he did not escape the jealousies incident then, as now, to envied places and divided responsibilities. His circumstances, like those of many moderate men, and especially those in the naval service who labored for the common interest of both parties in the state, enabled him to avoid identifying himself or his fortunes with the doomed republican cause. He forestalled some favor at the restoration, without being indebted for it to any treacherous meanness to individuals, or to the interests which he had espoused. Of very few public men, at that time, could it be said, that they transferred their titles and offices from a republican to a royal tenure without breach of faith or honor. Soldiers on land had been engaged in civil warfare, and the strife in the pulpits had committed their occupants, if they were sincere, to a rising or a sinking party;

* In Granville Penn's *Memorials* of him.

but those who fought upon the seas, though holding commissions from the Parliament, were rallied by the cry of England.

After the restoration, Admiral Penn commanded in 1665, under the Duke of York, in the terrible sea-fight with the Dutch, for which he won honor and knighthood, and attained to court privileges of acquaintance and influence. It was from the unpaid debts due to him for his public services, and from obligations contracted to him, that his distinguished son afterwards received such patronage, and advanced the claim, which was scarcely discharged by the bestowal of lands in the New World. The admiral was likewise the author of several small tracts and other works, for improving the naval service, which had a value in their day, and perhaps cost more labor and experience than those which have been written since. He was patriotic, simple hearted, pure, and truly religious, as a Protestant of the Church of England. His family pride, increased by the additions which he himself had made to its distinctions, was sorely offended, as we shall see, by the religious profession adopted by his son, though the offence yielded to admiration of that son's sincerity.

The relations between the English and the

Dutch, at that time, were not wholly hostile. Indeed, the family histories of that era disclose a remarkable number of intermarriages, when the ships of the two nations were contending for the dominion of the seas. The Admiral married Margaret, daughter of John Jasper, a merchant of Rotterdam. She was a noble woman, religious, indulgent, yet judicious. Her son was largely indebted to her maternal faithfulness for his early character, and her kindness and respect sustained him, when the first anger of the father, in finding that he had a Quaker for a son, turned him out of doors before he had attained to manhood.

A journal kept by the Admiral begins with his sailing from Deptford, Saturday, October 12th, 1644, two days before the birth of William. The frequent absences from home, which the naval service required of him, must have deprived him of much parental oversight of the early years of his son. When that son was engaged in the warm controversies of his new profession, he appeared as the vindicator of his father from unjust aspersions upon his courage and integrity, cast upon him after his death. An anonymous reviewer of the account, which the young Quaker published of his own

trial, had made use of the occasion to cast these reflections upon the Admiral. The son was ready to reply, and he devoted a portion of his rejoinder to vindicate his father's honesty and spirit. "Not that I would be thought to justify wars," he says; "I know they arise from lusts." But this does not hinder that he should state matters of fact.*

The Admiral had a second son, Richard Penn, who survived him about three years, dying in April, 1673; also one daughter, Margaret Penn, who married Anthony Lowther, of Mask, Yorkshire, and died in 1681-2; her branch of the family became extinct in the fourth generation.

* Truth rescued from Imposture, &c. Part III. A Vindication of my deceased Father's Reputation from the False and Unworthy Reflections of this Scandalous Libeller. Penn's *Works*, 2 vols. fol. Vol. I. p. 496.

CHAPTER II.

Birth and Education of William Penn. — His Early Religious Impressions. — Enters Christ's Church, Oxford. — The Influence of Thomas Loe over him. — Is fined for Nonconformity. — Is expelled from the University. — The Anger of his Father. — Is turned out of Doors. — The Spirit of William. — Is sent to travel in France. — Studies at Saumur. — Is recalled. — Enters Lincoln's Inn. — Leaves London on Account of the Plague.

THE proprietary of the province of Pennsylvania was born in St. Catharine's Parish, Tower Hill; London, October 14th, 1644. The country residence of his parents being then at Wanstead, he was sent to the free grammar school at Chigwell, Essex, which had been recently founded by Harsnett, Archbishop of York. His first and strongest religious impressions are ascribed to his boyhood in this school. While he was but eleven years of age, he was the subject of those deep exercises of spirit, which, in the language of the time, are represented almost as miraculous. Alone in his chamber, an external brightness around him seemed to answer to a mysterious

motion within; and thus early was confirmed to him the great fundamental principle of his subsequent faith, that there is an inward light in man; which attests the capacity of his soul for holding immediate intercourse with God. He regarded himself as called, by this experience, to a consecration of heart and life to the service of his Maker.

He was removed from Chigwell at the age of twelve, that he might be near his father's town residence, and enjoy more advantages of education in a private school, on Tower Hill, and in the help of a private tutor at home. Great pains seem to have been bestowed upon him, and not in vain; for he was a ready scholar, and his subsequent writings give proof of an accurate attainment in elementary principles, and of a wide extent of mental discipline. His healthful frame and bodily strength, in maturer years, were evidence, however, that he was not sheltered in tender seclusion, but engaged in those usual sports and amusements which are the best education of the body.

William Penn was entered as a gentleman commoner, at Christ Church College, Oxford, at the age of fifteen. Amid many close friendships which he formed here, based upon moral and intellectual affinities, he numbered among his companions John Locke, to whom

he offered service at the time of his expatriation in Holland. A specimen of young Penn's scholarship, at this time, is preserved in a brief Latin elegy, which was published in 1660, in a volume embracing several similar pieces, written by members of Oxford University, on the lamented decease of the Duke of Gloucester, second brother of Charles the Second.*

The early religious impressions of the young student, which had not been effaced, were renewed and deepened, at this time, by the exhortations of Thomas Loe. The numerous Quaker historians and writers, contemporaneous with this period, make frequent mention of the labors and imprisonments of this famous lay preacher, to whom Penn attributed his own conversion to their principles. Having once belonged to the university, which he left for the sake of his new profession, he occasionally visited it, in his itinerary ministry, and succeeded in gaining the devout attention of several of its students, while, as a matter of course, he was ridiculed and harassed by others. Of Penn, as of many other founders and prominent disciples of great sects, we may advance the paradoxical sentence, that he had

* *Epicedia Academiæ Oxoniensis in Obitum celsissimi Principis Henrici, Ducis Glocestriensis.* 4to. 1660.

already received, of his own instinctive tendencies, the views which he apparently embraced from the teaching of another. He was in fact a Quaker, before he became one by conscious or professed adhesion to Quaker principles. The doctrines, which that eminently Christian society advocated, were but a published index of the contents of many devout hearts and struggling minds. Penn at once responded to the earnest appeals of Thomas Loe, and, with a small band of his college companions, he forsook the ritual services, which the restored monarch had set up, for more congenial worship of their own, in their private apartments. All who were concerned in this grave offence were discovered, and, not denying the charge, or foregoing the practice, were fined for nonconformity. Though the fine was paid, it did not absolve wounded consciences. Penn and his companions proceeded to imitate an example, which older men had but lately set, and to insult the forms which they could not respect. The King had ordered that the students should resume their claim to their ancient title of gownsmen, and should never appear without their surplices. This Popish and formal costume, so at war, as the young converts of a simple and unadorned faith esteemed it to be, with true spirituality, excited their

zeal, and they fell upon students who were thus habited in public, and tore from them their robes. For this outrage, the offenders were at once expelled from the university.

William Penn, the father, then a commissioner of the Admiralty, was enjoying his court privileges and his fashionable acquaintances at London, cherishing, all the while, hopes of high distinction for his heir; when that heir returned home, announcing his disgrace, and more than all, and worse than all, speaking and appearing with the solemn seriousness of those devout persons, whom the naval officer regarded as canting hypocrites or moon-struck fools. The offending son had but a cold reception. In vain did his father expostulate and argue with him upon his affectation of religious scruples, and the barrier which they would oppose to his worldly success. Passing from words to the weightier discipline, which he had practised on shipboard, he proceeded to beat his son, and, failing to subdue his spirit, at once forbade him the house, and drove him from it in a fit of sudden passion. The intercessions of his wife, and the relentings of his own bosom, temporarily appeased his anger, and his son was restored to his home.

It must have required no small measure of moral courage, in a youth then in his

eighteenth year, thus to forego the attractions of social life, which opened to him, and resolutely to thwart the earnest wishes of an honored parent. But something more deep and high than worldly prudence influenced the mind of the son. The religious spirit, which in his later years assumed a most calm and rational tone, was now unnaturally excited. Like the other eminent founders of his religious connection, he believed in immediate and miraculous communications made to his own mind, in a way which admitted of their being defined, expressed, and regarded as demonstrative of duty and prophetic of the future. In one of his many letters to his friend Robert Turner, then in Dublin, in 1681, when he was the proprietary of Pennsylvania, Penn makes this mysterious reference; "This I can say, that I had an opening of joy, as to these parts, in the year 1661, at Oxford."* With such a revelation waiting to be realized, he might well renounce the worldly views which his father proposed to him.

His father determined on a measure, which has generally been found to have proved itself

* *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, Vol. I. p. 203.

very effectual, not only in eradicating gravity and seriousness, but in implanting most opposite tendencies. He sent his son to France, in company with some persons of rank, in 1662, in order that he might be subjected to the accomplishments and gayety, which travel and residence there would be most likely to recommend. Of his stay in Paris he afterwards records one single incident, which vindicates his claim to be alike a gentleman of honor and a Christian. He was attacked in the street, one evening, by a person who was affronted because his salutation of raising the hat, which Penn says he did not see, was not returned. Our young traveller, lacking three years of manhood, (whether armed or not, he does not tell us,) immediately stood to the combat with his antagonist, and disarmed him. So far, the by-standers beheld a scene which Paris afforded daily; but when the victor had the life of his antagonist in his power, and might, without harm from police or law, have run him through, he was satisfied with returning to him his sword, and the true salutation of Christian forbearance.

Of course such a one as Penn took no pleasure in the dissipation of Paris; but the opportunities of wise observation would not

be lost upon him.* He soon left the capital, to reside for some months at Saumur, to enjoy the instruction of the famous Calvinistic divine and professor, Moses Amyrault, the friend of Cardinal Richelieu, to whom that prelate imparted his bold design for uniting the Roman and Protestant churches. With this learned theologian, William Penn renewed the studies, which had been summarily closed at Oxford, becoming a thorough proficient in the French language, which greatly facilitated his extensive missionary labors on the Continent some years afterwards, and reading the fathers, and other standard works of theology, the good use of which appears in his numerous writings. He had reached Turin, on an intended tour through Italy, when he was recalled to the care of the family at home, by a letter from his father, announcing his necessary absence to take command of the fleet against the Dutch. He returned to England in 1664.

* It was while on this visit to France, that Penn became acquainted with the Earl of Sunderland, whom he afterwards found a serviceable friend. The fact is expressly stated by Penn, in a letter written to Sunderland, in 1683. See *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, Vol. II. Part I. p. 244. This statement, of course, negatives a story in the biographies of Penn, that the Earl, as Robert Spencer, had been one of his fellow-nonconformists at Oxford.

When Penn was afterwards on trial for the offence of illegal preaching, he was taunted by his judge with having been guilty of common youthful levities and immoralities, and his strictness of manners was represented as only a revulsion from former dissipation. Reference was supposed to be made to his life when abroad. Penn repelled the charge with the indignation of a calm but most resolute denial, and challenged any one to bear witness to any departure on his part from the strictest morality. His accuser probably spoke from his own experience of himself. It is certain that Penn's challenge, uttered by a pure conscience, was received in silence. He had acquired abroad more liveliness of manners, with something of the polish and courtesy of his foreign companions; and his father was barely satisfied with these attainments, though attended by no loss of seriousness.*

In compliance with the wishes of his father,

* Pepys, who was officially connected and very intimate with the Admiral and his family, enters in his *Diary*, under date of August 26th, 1664, "Mr. Penn, Sir William's son, is come back from France, and come to visit my wife; a most modish person, grown, she says, a fine gentleman." Vol. II. p. 214. The portrait of him, painted about this time, presents a handsome young man with flowing locks, but by no means of a fashionable or gay appearance, though clad in armor.

Penn entered as a student at Lincoln's Inn, that he might acquaint himself with the laws of his country, and with more knowledge of the world. His residence here was cut short, in about a year, by the great plague, which induced him to leave London, in 1665, just as he became of age. The horrors of that calamity must have added yet more seriousness to his mind. Whatever knowledge of law he had acquired was destined to be of real use to him, when he became the legislator of a colony in the New World.

CHAPTER III.

Penn's and Barclay's Services to the Quakers. — Rise and Origin of the People called Quakers. — State of the Times. — Religious Novelties. — Wandering Preachers. — George Fox. — Excesses of the early Quakers. — Their Virtues and Endurance. — Principles of the Society.

WILLIAM PENN and Robert Barclay are the names of the two most eminent members of the Society of Friends. They may be entitled to an equal measure of pure and desirable

fame, the former as the practical, the latter as the theoretical, champion of their principles. But if services are to be weighed and measured by actual sum and cost, Penn, both in the labors of his life and of his pen, will receive the higher estimate. Barclay's father approved and favored the devotion of his son to a despised sect; but Penn, as we have seen, found his first foe in his best friend. Through the whole of his subsequent life, his principles cost him a large amount of suffering of body and of mind; a loss of friends, and honors, and property; a subjection to insults and reproaches. They weighed with such a burden of care upon his active career, and were attended with such a disappointment of his most cherished wishes at his death, that we pronounce upon him the highest but well deserved encomium in saying, that, had he foreseen the course and issue of his life, he would not have shrunk from it.

Some brief account of the origin and principles of the Society of which he was so eminent a member will properly introduce his own connection with it at an early period of his life.

The word *Quaker* will be freely used in this narrative, and it need scarcely be said by the writer, that he intends no offence in thus

continuing the use of an epithet, which was first applied in scorn. The distinguished virtues which have been associated with it have made it honorable. Indeed, Penn, and other members of the Society, used the term in their public writings, and felt no unwillingness to be designated by it, while ridicule and contempt were still associated with it. The epithet has passed through a transmutation like to that, which has altered the popular use of the word *Christian* from the signification which it once had.

The Quakers, originally called, by themselves and by others, *Professors*, *Children of the Light*, and *Friends*, did more, at the period of their origin, to revive and impress anew the great vital principles of Christianity, than any other sect before or since their time has done. The active life of Penn extended through the most interesting portion of the history of the Society. The age which produced the sect exhibited a most remarkable and intensely agitated state of thought and feeling. Even science, natural and physical, as well as intellectual, felt the impulse of that general renewal, which seemed then to be working upon the spirits of men. The foundation of the Royal Society dates from the period, which in England was most fruitful in the production of innumerable religious sects.

The most appropriate motto for all the histories of the time might be given in the words of Baxter. "I know you may meet with men, who will confidently affirm, that in these times all religion was trodden under foot, and that heresy and schism were the only piety. But I give warning to all ages, that they take heed how they believe any, while they are speaking for the interest of their factions and opinions, against their real or supposed adversaries."* It would have been well if Baxter himself had followed this wise rule, for this good and honored man was not wholly free from the spirit of bitterness. He says that the sect of Quakers was the last resource taken to by the Jesuits and the devil, when they found that the Seekers and Ranters would no longer serve their turn. He fell into the common opinion, that the Quakers, and all other troublesome folk in those times, were disguised Papists, Jesuits, or Franciscans. The Puritan party adhered faithfully to their belief, that Popery was the very "*mystery* of iniquity." Penn suffered more under the suspicion of being a Jesuit, than for his confession that he was a Quaker. Bunyan, one of the eminent spirits of that period, feared that the age

* Orme's *Life of Baxter*, Vol. I. p. 86.

would be characterized by posterity, "as one which talked of religion most, and loved it least." The strange sects then abounding are ludicrously described by Edwards, Vicars, Paggitt, and Featley. A writer, who seems to have caught their living features, thus contrasts the spirit of the two parties throughout the Stuart dynasty, by presenting "the stern and unyielding exercise of power, as operating upon the stubbornness of conscientious dissent."* Sir John Reresby, whose Memoirs give us so much of the gossip of the courts of the second Charles and James, says, "I left England at that unhappy time, (1654,) when honesty was reputed a crime, religion superstition, loyalty treason; when subjects were governors, servants masters, and no gentleman was assured of anything he possessed."

Intestine troubles, enthusiasm, and religious dissensions had prepared the minds of the people to receive any extravagance of doctrine. As Sewel, the Quaker historian, honestly says, there were abundance of people in England, who, having searched all sects, could nowhere find satisfaction for their hungry souls. Many, who then professed to be seekers after truth themselves, took upon them the task of being

* Retrospective Review, Vol. XIII. p. 2.

teachers of it to others. A sincere and zealous wanderer from village to village, though he may be untaught, will ever gain more converts among the mass of men, than a refined and scholarlike preacher. From materials already engendered were wrought out those wild and enthusiastic dogmas, all pervaded by a religious spirit, which blazed so fiercely at the time of the Commonwealth. The Puritan preachers, who had been excluded from the pulpits, found a refuge in private families as tutors, or were received as religious counsellors by secret social circles. The Bible, but recently put within the reach of the common people, had been diligently perused, and each reader had undertaken to interpret it for himself. The spirit of humanity and of liberty was then at work; the bright light, which was suddenly poured upon the mass of men, blinded the eyes, and confused the understandings of some of them.

Then were opened deep questions of the design of government and of religion, and men were made sensible of the oppression of preceding times, which had insisted on dead ordinances, and had denied the supplies which the mind and the heart craved. Amid the wild and fanatical spirits of the parliamentary army, it was but natural that the working of these

elements should produce confusion ; for the law of their just operation, and the proper guidance of them in safe channels, could not come with the first bright perception of those ultimate truths which had been attained. The army was composed of men who had long been discontented, and who were now taken from accustomed occupations of body and of mind, and were destitute of regular employment. It must of course have embraced many individuals who were ripe for any extravagance. Officers and privates were accustomed to pray and expound the Scriptures from pulpits and from the field. Many of the most enthusiastic preachers among the early Quakers, such as Hubberton, Ames, Dewsbury, Naylor, and Lilburne, had been in the army.

The Quakers were not, strictly speaking, an original sect, as their views and principles were selected, refined, and harmonized from a large and confused mass of opinions about religion, politics, society, and morals, which then prevailed over the northern and central portions of England. The Familists, Antinomians, Seekers, and Ranters had successively presented to public view the phenomena, which at first drew attention to the new sect, whose members trembled or *quaked* at the word of the Lord. George Fox encountered many persons, who,

without any intercourse with each other, had singly come to the same conclusions, and, after hearing him, "found themselves in unity with him." Indeed, the noblest testimony, which can be offered in behalf of any speculative principles and practical rules of virtue, the highest signature of truth which such principles and rules could receive, is that which from the first attached to Quakerism; for many earnest and serious minds had attained its conclusions by their own struggles, and found that the joy of mutual fellowship was the partnership in precious truth.

The pages of Edwards's *Gangræna*, and of Pagitt's *Heresiography*, afford plain evidence that each novel opinion, each vagary of conduct, each extravagance and eccentricity, as well as each great fundamental and living truth, which entered into the received customs and tenets of the Society of Friends, had found an advocate and example before George Fox gave out his testimony. We find that "the offence of the hat," the objection to flattering titles and ornaments of dress, to sports and profane customs, to "a hireling ministry," and to oaths, to war and persecution, had already designated single or compound heresies all over the kingdom, while the interruption of public worship, for the sake of speaking according to

the witness of "the inner light," was a familiar misdemeanor, punishable with a penalty at common law. The Friends were in fact eclectics. They adopted what they could approve of the fruits of one and the same Spirit, which then worked in the minds of men.

Yet, while the principles of the Quakers are thus traced to the conflicts of many minds gathering their discoveries of great truths for many years, it is not necessary to question the general fame, which attributes to George Fox and William Penn the enviable distinction of being the founders of the Society of Friends. They are two of the most attractive and inspiring characters of all Christian history. There is something in the narrative of Fox's life, which kindles the very soul of the sympathizing reader. In no individual, grown to man's estate, did infantile innocence, with all its simple graces, ever unite with such profound spiritual apprehension, and such unswerving self-consecration, as in him.* He was born

* Sir James Mackintosh describes Fox's Journal as "one of the most extraordinary and instructive narratives in the world, which no reader of competent judgment can peruse without revering the virtue of the writer, pardoning his self-delusion, and ceasing to smile at his peculiarities." We might ask, however, if a man can be called *self-deluded*, who, having paid the spiritual price of spiritual attainments, finds

twenty years before Penn, having a mother from the stock of the martyrs, and a father who was known by his neighbors as "Righteous Christer," or Christopher. Unusual gravity, staidness, and temperance, characterized him from a child. He was known through his native village of Drayton-in-the-Clay for his honesty and simplicity; as it was commonly averred, "If George says *verily*, there is no altering him." His relations designed to make him "a priest;" but, others dissuading, he was apprenticed to a dealer in wool, shoes, and cattle.

At the age of nineteen, being scandalized at the health-drinking, which he witnessed at a fair, and being "called of the Lord, one night, to forsake all, both old and young, and to be to them as a stranger," he left his home, to wander alone. After roaming in the woods, and avoiding all intimacies, with some misgivings, but with weightier inward conflicts, he returned again, and for a season repeated this process of wandering and resuming his labors, without finding relief. He had had but a

them sufficient to quicken, control, and consecrate his whole nature, to fill his breast with a calm and unfaltering trust, and to enable him to be the minister of righteousness and peace to thousands of his fellow-creatures.

scanty education, and could write but rudely. While busied in his trade, his thoughts were intensely engaged on religious themes. Being regarded as a harmless lunatic, or as a victim of religious melancholy, he was generally treated with tenderness, though he wearied his friends with his disputations. The parish priest, Nathaniel Stevens, after in vain endeavoring to give peace to the mind of his controverter, was at last obliged to say, from the pulpit, that George Fox "was a young man tossed about with mad and unruly fancies."

But Fox accuses the preacher of delivering in sermons the thoughts and sentiments gathered from him. In a most disconsolate state, this true seeker after light wandered hither and thither, consulting different divines, as the hypochondriac does physicians. In his solitary life, buffeted by the dark temptations of Satan, with agonized misgivings and distress of mind, he in vain sought relief from professors and priests. They were "but empty, hollow casks." "None reached his condition." One advised him to take tobacco and to sing psalms. Tobacco was a thing he did not love, and psalms he was in no state to sing. One priest thought that George might be in love, for he betrayed his sorrows to some milk lasses, which much displeased his patient. Another divine, recom-

mended the letting of blood ; but George was so dried up with sorrows, griefs, and troubles, that he had no blood in him. He was truly in a most desolate state, dark in mind, without sympathy or counsel. He made himself a suit of leather, which was fitted for his pilgrim life, and would not need repair, and gave himself up to lonely wanderings and meditation ; spending whole days in hollow trees and lonesome places, studying the Scriptures. He was afraid "to stay long in any place, lest, being a tender young man, he should be hurt by too familiar a conversation with men." He wished he was blind and deaf, that he might never see vanity or hear blasphemy.

At last, with infinite joy, Fox found what he was seeking, "joy and peace in believing." As he walked in a field, it was revealed to him, that "his name was written in the Lamb's book of life." A happiness which a palace does not afford was his. The groans of the invisible spirit, and all its exercises in temptation and sin, the struggles of the flesh, the inward light of truth, the sore conflict with darkness, all passed before him as a special manifestation of Divinity to his heart. He solved the mystery of superiority to the outward and fleshly law. The first revelation made to him was, that all who were born of God were be-

lievers, whether Protestants or Papists, and that being bred at Oxford or Cambridge was not enough to fit and qualify men to be ministers of Christ. Next it was opened to him that God did not dwell in temples, but in believers' hearts. Fox spent about three years in methodizing his thoughts and inspirations, before he undertook the office of a public teacher. His ministrations were so effectual, both for maladies of mind and of body, that the report was soon current, "that George Fox had a discerning spirit."

The first converts of Fox were almost exclusively from among those, who had been under the influence of some of the many forms of dissent from the established faith and worship; and amid the excitable and anxious spirits of those times, he found a multitude to whom his words were either as drops of balm or as sparks of fire. He endeavored to be present at all public gatherings for religion, trade, or sport. He angered the priests, but won a multitude of the people. If the Spirit gave him utterance, he prayed; but if prayer was asked of him, he said that he could not offer it at the will of others.* He did not

* Penn, who wrote a preface to Fox's Journal, says "But, above all, he excelled in prayer. The inwardness

scruple to interrupt a preacher, for he felt that he had a word of life to utter. He made his appearance at courts, as well as at "steeple houses;" he rebuked fiddlers, drunkards, swearers, and rhyme-makers; and, at the close of the year 1648, he had advanced so far into the truth, that "the whole creation had another smell" to him. He had a secret insight into the nature and virtues of things, and thought of practising physic. Full revelations of the inward light were made to his mind. It is plain that he studied the Bible with his whole heart and understanding, to the neglect of all other books; and he is a remarkable witness of the true and vital faith, so high above the dead barrenness of creeds and formularies, which the application of a severe study to the sacred text will induce.

There is a little mysticism, some extravagance, and a degree of nonsense and rhapsody, in some of his fervent expressions; but deep and ardent faith, with a searching insight into human nature, predominates. He says that the

and weight of his spirit, the reverence and solemnity of his address and behavior, and the fewness and fulness of his words, have often struck even strangers with admiration, as they used to reach others with consolation. The most awful, living, reverent frame I ever felt or beheld, I must say, was his in prayer."

Lord forbade him to put off his hat either to the high or the low ; to bid people *good morrow*, or *good evening* ; to bow or scrape with his leg to any one ; and enjoined him to use only *thee*, *thou*, and *thine*. "Hat honor was invented by men in the fall." The single pronoun was in conformity with grammar and Scripture ; and, though priests and professors raged at his simplicity, "many did come to see the vanity of putting off the hat." Much buffeting and thumping ensued, and many hats were lost. Many matters presented themselves to his sense of duty, as requiring reformation ; such as courts of justice, drinking houses, wakes, fairs, feasts, games, May sports, mountebanks, and all sorts of music. He was particularly exercised with schoolmasters and mistresses. But the priests, and "the church bells, were the black, earthly spirits, that wounded his life."

Thus far Fox may have been regarded as a harmless religious enthusiast, doing violence in word to many prevailing opinions, and presenting himself before the populace in opposition to their amusements. He was under the protection of sincerity in his words and demeanor. Thus far, too, he had fallen under no censure or abuse, except that of words. He had neither been whipped, fined, nor impris-

oned. But now he first set an example in wrong doing, which was readily adopted, and far exceeded by some of his first converts, and which presents him and them before us as riotous disturbers, if not as calumniators.

One Sunday morning, in 1649, as Fox approached Nottingham, and saw the "steeple house," he felt a prompting "from the Lord," to "go and cry against yonder great idol, and against the worshippers therein." He deserted his own company to go on the mission, and he found that "the people looked like fallow ground, and the priest like a great lump of earth." In the course of the sermon, Fox arose and controverted the preacher; and for this offence he was committed to prison. From that time forward, he pursued his ministry with an unequalled devotion and success. Frequent confinements nourished and fed the spirit, which spoke from his heart and lips in the intervals of his freedom. He travelled largely in both hemispheres; an apostolic aspect gave him reverence even with strangers; his well proved ministry of power raised him almost to the exaltation of an idol among his friends. He died with the armor of his warfare upon him, while William Penn, with admiring and loving devotion, watched his last hours, bore a faithful testimony to him

at his grave, and edited his Letters and Journal, perhaps the most unclassical, and at the same time the most engaging and impressive volumes of religious biography.

To those who are interested in the views and experiences of the early Friends, even an account of them extended through this volume would be too defective and brief. Of course such an account cannot be looked for here. The excesses committed by some persons calling themselves Quakers, both in Old and in New England, such as outrages of language in speech and in letters, were excessively irritating, apart from all religious bearings. Even Barclay walked through the streets of Aberdeen in sackcloth and ashes. In New England, men and women ran about, and even entered places of worship, entirely divested of clothing, and by other gross affronts drew upon themselves inflictions, which never would have been visited upon their religious opinions, if entertained and expressed with a regard to the rights of others. These excesses were, however, soon repudiated by the true members of the Society. Penn never interrupted a religious service but once; and though he at first used the severe terms of controversy in some of his letters, he afterwards expressed the following admirable principle; "For however differing I am from

other men *circa sacra*, and that world, which, respecting men, may be said to *begin* when this *ends*, I know no religion that destroys courtesy, civility, and kindness; which, rightly understood, are great indications of true men, if not of good Christians."*

The quaint sincerity of the early Quakers was not one of the least of their peculiarities. The intensity of their love for the fresh and vigorous principles embraced in their belief, their worship, and their discipline, led them to an extreme in condemning the preferences of others. George Whithead, one of their famous preachers, said that "the singing of David's psalms became so burdensome to him that sometimes he could not join therewith; for he saw that David's conditions were not generally suitable to the states of a mixt multitude, and he found himself to be short of what they sung. He durst not sing the psalms, lest he should have told lies unto God."†

The great principles professed and most consistently regarded by the Quakers are familiar to those, who have taken any proper pains to learn them. They are easily stated, for they are simple. They have a warrant in the con-

* Penn's *Letter to Justice Fleming*, in 1673.

† Sewel's *History of the People called Quakers*, p. 79.

science ; they are conformed to the strictest interpretation of the Christian religion. The great tenet of the inward light, as the witness of God in every human breast, is well and briefly described by Penn ; “ He that gave us an outward luminary for our bodies, hath given us an inward one for our minds to act by.” * Their peculiarities of dress, speech, and demeanor had their religious meaning, as contrasted with the gay trappings, the fawning sycophantism, and the levity, which prevailed at the time of their origin. One would prefer the sober garb of a Quaker to the vain and foppish parade of dress, which Pepys, for instance, connects with his appearance at court and at church. The first expressions of Quaker principles embraced, with remarkable completeness and consistency, all the doctrines, methods, and scruples, which properly belong to the system, or could be justly inferred from it. † All individual and social abuses, oaths,

* Penn's *Letter to William Popple*.

† The following paragraph of Sir James Mackintosh falls within fair limits of candor. “ Seeking perfection, by renouncing pleasures, of which the social nature promotes kindness, and by converting self-denial, a means of moral discipline, into one of the ends of life, it was their more peculiar and honorable error, that, by a liberal interpretation of that affectionate and ardent language in which the Christian religion inculcates the pursuit of peace, and the

war, imprisonment for debt, and capital punishments, except in extreme cases, were repudiated by the Quakers, and they cleared themselves from all participation therein.

They believed that the great principles of their system, like the lessons of the gospel, were equally suited for all lands and for all people. Zealous preachers, men and women, facing all perils of oceans, plagues, dungeons, and stripes, carried the message to the Pope, to the Sultan, to Emperors, Kings, Princes, and Rulers, and to the people of every clime. It is no wonder that large accessions were made to the Society of Friends, from the sterling classes of many communities, especially from the English peasantry and yeomanry. Their literature was the very perfection of cottage divinity. It is richer, plainer, more winning and far more copious, than that of the Methodist reformers of the next century.

practice of beneficence, they struggled to extend the sphere of these most admirable virtues beyond the boundaries of nature. They adopted a peculiarity of language, and a uniformity of dress, indicative of humility and equality, of brotherly love, the sole bond of their pacific union, and of the serious minds of men, who lived only for the performance of duty; taking no part in strife, renouncing even defensive arms, and utterly condemning the punishment of death." *Review of the Causes of the Revolution of 1688. Miscellaneous Works, American edition, p. 333.*

CHAPTER IV.

Penn's serious Tendencies renewed. — Sent to Ireland. — Manages his Father's Estates there. — Arrested and imprisoned. — His Letter thereupon. — Liberated and ordered Home by his Father. — Befriended by his Mother. — Becomes a Preacher, and an Author. — His first Books. — Has a public Disputation. — Publishes his "Sandy Foundation Shaken." — Imprisoned for it. — Other Writings. — Is liberated. — Sent again to Ireland. — Reconciled to his Father on his Return.

ON the return of Admiral Penn from sea, in 1666, he found, to his bitter disappointment, that the lively and fashionable air which travel had imparted to his son was but temporary, and had yielded, in his absence, to the seriousness which was inherent in his nature. Intimacy with grave persons, and interest in the grave subjects of the times, had had their natural effect upon his manners and conversation. The difference was extreme between what the young man was and what his father would have had him to be. Indeed, one remarkable characteristic of the age was, that its men and manners, its theory and its practice, were whol-

ly uncontrolled by moderation. Scarce a single prominent character seems to have stood between the utmost freedom of licentiousness on the one hand, with all its variety of wickedness, and the ungenial moroseness of a sour pietism on the other. The Admiral would have been pleased to converse with his son about the court and its gay pleasures, and to have had him share his own interest in obtaining some place of honor or profit. The society which he entertained at his own house, and which he visited in town, was of a kind which would be least congenial to his son, whose demure looks, and formal language, and serious conversation, would rather excite their ridicule, than win their respect.

The Admiral, determined to eradicate the extreme religious tendency of his son, sent him over to the court of the Duke of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with whom he was intimately acquainted. This was then the next best school to Paris for learning the ways of pleasure, frivolity, and dissipation. The Duke received his visitor with kindness, and readily admitted him to the society of the lively and fashionable. But what Penn witnessed served only to disgust him. The very attempt to win him from seriousness, by exposing him to the fascinations of vice, served

most effectually to confirm him in the more sombre and exaggerated views, which associated themselves with religion in his mind.

His father, being possessed of two large estates in the county of Cork, resolved upon committing the entire management of them to him, hoping that close and absorbing employment would work an effect upon him, which social frivolities had failed to accomplish. William readily assumed the responsible charge committed to him, and sustained it so as to win the entire approval and the commendation of his father. On a visit of business to Cork, he learned that Thomas Loe, whom he regarded as his spiritual father, was to speak at a meeting of the Quakers in that city. As might be expected, Penn resolved to remain and hear. Whether or not the zealous preacher knew that his young disciple at Oxford was in the crowd which he addressed, he could not have chosen introductory words more suited to affect that listener. His first sentence was, "There is a faith which overcomes the world, and there is a faith which is overcome by the world." The discourse, conformed to this motto, deeply impressed William Penn, calling back and deepening his earliest religious impressions, and enlisted his feelings once for all in that sect to which the speaker

belonged. Conscience seems to have made a special application to himself of the doctrine taught.

But though he did not yet join the Society of Friends, nor assume their garb, he began to attend their meetings. At one of these, September 3d, 1667, he was apprehended, with others, and carried before the Mayor, on the strength of a proclamation, which had been published seven years before, against tumultuous assemblies. The Mayor, noticing that his dress did not mark him as a Quaker, offered him his liberty if he would give a bond for his good behavior. As Penn had not failed of good behavior, he refused to accept his liberty on this condition, and was therefore imprisoned, with eighteen others. He soon availed himself of the acquaintance which he had made with men of station in Ireland, to write a letter, from his prison, to the Earl of Orrery, Lord President of the Council of Munster. It is a strong, dignified, and courteous remonstrance, stating his apprehension, not by an act of Parliament or state, but by an antiquated order, designed to suppress "Fifth Monarchy killing spirits," and presenting the folly of such persecution, to one, who, he says, was "not long since a good solicitor for the liberty I now crave." This letter procured his immediate discharge.

Another bond of union was thus formed between him and the new sect, and he soon identified himself with the Quakers, with the exception of his dress. His father received tidings of his son's course, in a letter from a nobleman, and at once ordered him to return home. He complied; and, as his dress did not betray him, his father did not at once discover his frame of mind. But this was soon revealed in his language and deportment; and when his neglect of common courtesies, especially that of the hat, and his exclusive intimacies with Quakers, made his father aware of the full truth, he at once sought an explanation from William.

The interview must have been distressing to both father and son, who showed an equal degree of resolution and pertinacity in their respective positions. The father, with a parent's love, with worldly hopes, and an utter scorn of all sanctimoniousness, implored his son to regard his wishes and his own interest. The son, moved, as he believed, by a divine impulse, and knowing no motive higher than that of conscience, gently resisted alike the commands and entreaties of his parent. Anger on the one part, and fixed determination on the other, brought the interview to a close. The father offered to give his son no further

trouble if he would consent only to remove his hat in his presence, and in presence of the King and the Duke of York. William desired time to consider the matter. The Admiral charged him with intending to refer the subject to some of the Quakers; but his son denied that such was his purpose, and, retiring to his own chamber, he meditated and prayed alone. Sincerity against flattery was the question for his conscience to argue. Casuistry was then a science, truth was weighed out in syllogisms, and expediency was, with the multitude, the rule of right. Penn had another principle; he applied it faithfully, and he returned to say, with the greatest filial tenderness, to a respected father, that he could not remove his hat by way of compliment to any one. His father, on learning his decision, immediately turned him out of doors.*

* Pepys, under date of December 29th, 1667, writes, "At night comes Mrs. Turner to see us; and there, among other talk, she tells me that Mr. William Penn, who is lately come over from Ireland, is a Quaker again, or some very melancholy thing; that he cares for no company, nor comes into any; which is a pleasant thing, after his being abroad so long, and his father such a hypocritical rogue, and at this time an atheist." Vol. III. p. 443. It is scarcely necessary to add, that the calumnious conclusion of this sentence merely vents the spleen and animosity of Pepys against the Admiral.

There was a text of Scripture to support the young Quaker, thus thrown upon the world without a fortune or the means of obtaining a subsistence. He grieved more at the pain he had given to his father, than at his own houseless condition. His mother, and some constant friends, supplied his wants, though she was compelled to aid him, and to communicate with him, without the knowledge of his father. But every such experience, which William Penn encountered, taught and confirmed to him the faith of his subsequent life.

Being now identified not only in belief, but in suffering, with the Quakers, he soon became a prominent and leading instrument in converting others. In 1668, at the age of twenty-four, he spoke at their meetings; a liberty which was open to all, males and females, though we may well believe that few could improve it, as he did, for real edification. His resolute adherence to the principles which he had espoused, somewhat mollified his father, who allowed him to return to the house, and, though refusing to approve, and indeed publicly discountenancing, his son, yet used his interest to relieve him from some of the inflictions, which his attendance at meetings brought upon him. In the same year, William Penn began to imitate the almost universal practice of his fellow-be-

lievers, in writing letters of exhortation.* The Quakers were as voluminous and painstaking in this mode of influence, as they were earnest and incessant in their public ministry. Epistles of love and warning went forth from them to all sorts of persons, monarchs and servants, friends and foes. Penn's first letter of this sort, addressed to a fashionable young man of his acquaintance, is dated "Navy Office, 10th of the fifth month, 1668."

This year also witnessed his first appearance as an author. The title of his first tract, copied in full, is; "Truth exalted; in a short but sure Testimony against all those religious Faiths and Worships, that have been formed and followed in the Darkness of Apostasy; and for that glorious Light, which is now risen, and shines forth in the Life and Doctrine of the despised Quakers, as the alone good

* I have before me "A Collection of the Works of William Penn, in two volumes. To which is prefixed a Journal of his Life, with many original Letters and Papers not before published." London, 1726, folio. This, the only complete edition of the voluminous writings of Penn, was made, and the Life composed, by Joseph Besse.

I have also "The Select Works of William Penn, in Five Volumes, 3d Edition, London, 1782, 8vo." This selection contains those works of the author, which, as having less bearing on local and temporary controversies, are regarded as possessing a permanent value.

old Way of Life and Salvation. Presented to Princes, Priests, and People, that they may repent, believe, and obey. By William Penn, whom divine Love constrains, in an holy Contempt, to trample on Egypt's Glory, not fearing the King's Wrath, having beheld the Majesty of Him who is invisible." The limits of these pages will permit only the slightest notice of the several tracts and volumes issued by this zealous advocate of a living and antagonistic faith. This, the first, was likewise the most ambitious and severe of all his writings; and it is not wholly free from what an unprejudiced reader might pronounce to be spiritual pride and arrogance. The warning which it contains to "dark and idolatrous Papists, to superstitious and loose Protestants, to zealous and carnal professors," and the declaration of his own freedom, enlightenment, and security, could scarcely be set in the bold contrast in which he places them, by one so ardent and assured, without putting meekness and humility at a risk. But we must bear in mind that much of the peculiarity, which marks the views of the Quakers, to us arises from the manner in which they are expressed; for all their standard works were written at a time, when great quaintness of style and speech and the harshest severity of epithet prevailed.

Penn's second book, called "The Guide Mistaken, and Temporizing Rebuked," was published in the same year. This is wholly controversial, and by no means of the gentlest character, being designed in answer to a book by Thomas Clapham, entitled "A Guide to the True Religion." Penn calls the author "a Cantabrigian Sizer," and treats him with great contempt, as "a guide who had not gone a page before he lost his way." The reviewer, however, had an excuse for his searching criticism of a man who had frequently changed his religion, inasmuch as his book was an attack upon the Quakers, and misrepresented them.

Availing himself of the privilege, Penn had the satisfaction of being enabled to visit the dying bed of Thomas Loe, to whose appeals and lessons he ascribed the strength of the convictions which had settled upon him with such power in Oxford. A dying testimony was regarded as of great importance, and of the highest value among the early Friends, and the interview between these two sufferers in a common cause ended in a cheering exhortation to the survivor.

The two most remarkable of the religious works of William Penn were produced under circumstances of an interesting and exciting

character, which first brought him under the inflictions of the law in England. Two members of a congregation in London, of which Thomas Vincent, a Presbyterian minister, was the pastor, went, from curiosity, to attend a Quaker meeting, near to their own place of worship, and were there converted. Their pastor, being highly offended, not only remonstrated with them, but violently attacked the Quakers and their principles from his pulpit. His charges, being more publicly reported, were boldly taken up by Penn, and George Whitehead, a distinguished and voluminous writer and preacher in the Society, who went to Vincent, and demanded an opportunity to reply before the same audience. A promise to this effect having been reluctantly granted, and the time appointed for a conference in Vincent's meeting-house, it would seem by the Quaker's accounts, (and they are generally the most fair and candid of all writers,) that the Presbyterian minister did not conduct with propriety or justice. His own friends so crowded the edifice, that but few of the Quakers could obtain entrance. The latter were assailed by opprobrious epithets, Penn, especially, being stigmatized as a Jesuit. Vincent abruptly closed the conference, when it was very stormy, by "falling to prayer" for the Quakers, as blas-

phemers. He then rushed out, followed by most of his congregation, it being nearly midnight. The Quakers, being thus cheated of their expected opportunity, continued their defence, in the dark, to the few who remained. Vincent came back with a candle, and ordered them to disperse, which they did on being promised another meeting at the same place. The Quakers having in vain waited long enough, as they thought, for this promise to be redeemed, Penn and Whitehead felt "necessitated to visit the meeting-house." This they did on a lecture day, and attempted to speak after the services; but Vincent retired, and none of the congregation would enter into a discussion with them.

The previous controversy had turned upon the common explanation or definition of the doctrine of the Trinity, in which the Quakers were heretical. Penn was thus induced to write and publish, in 1668, his famous tract, called "The Sandy Foundation Shaken," which is a bold attack upon "those so generally believed and applauded doctrines of one God subsisting in three distinct and separate persons; of the impossibility of God's pardoning sinners without a plenary satisfaction; and of the justification of impure persons by an imputative Righteousness." The publication of

this very powerful tract caused a great excitement, which extended beyond the limits to which the agitation caused by the Quakers had already reached.* Church dignitaries and dissenters were alike scandalized at it. Penn was apprehended and committed to the Tower. In reply to his servant, who informed him that the Bishop of London had declared that he should either publicly recant or die a prisoner, he sent word to his father, "that his prison should be his grave before he would budge a jot."

While thus restrained of his liberty for nearly nine months, William Penn wrote the treatise on which his fame as a Christian scholar may safely rest. It is entitled "No Cross, No Crown; A Discourse showing the Nature and Discipline of the Holy Cross of Christ." It is a thorough treatise on the practice of self-denial, and the faithful performance of duty, without asceticism or exaggeration, written with power, and in some passages with

* Pepys, under date 1663-9, February 12th, says, "went home; and there Pelling hath got W. Penn's book against the Trinity. I got my wife to read it to me; and I find it so well writ as, I think, it is too good for him ever to have writ it; and it is a serious sort of book, and not fit for everybody to read." The index to Pepys, strangely enough, ascribes this book to the Admiral.

real eloquence, and expresses sentiments from which no Christian mind can dissent. Its most remarkable feature, however, as giving proof of the large reading of the author, is its wide collections of testimonies from persons of all ages and places, who were eminent, in any way, in support of the views which he presents.

Willing to do all that an honest and conscientious man might do to procure his release, Penn wrote a letter, dated July 5th, 1669, to Lord Arlington, Secretary of State, who had committed him, in which he denies the malicious charges of enemies, offers a plea for religious liberty, and demands release as innocent, or the proof of his guilt, requesting also an audience of the King. In this letter he says, "It is not the property of religion to persecute religion; that scorns to employ those weapons to her defence that others have used to her depression. It is her privilege alone to conquer naked of force or artifice. And that person, who hath not the election of his religion, hath none."

Penn also wrote in the Tower a small tract, entitled "Innocency with her Open Face, presented by Way of Apology for the Book entitled The Sandy Foundation Shaken." In this piece he asserts his belief of the eternity

and Deity of Jesus Christ; but we cannot enter into the conditions by which he would harmonize his seemingly conflicting views.* Some persons were satisfied with what they called his recantation, but others ridiculed his alleged inconsistency. His own explanation was, that he had objected only to terms of human invention.

By the interference of the Duke of York, either with or without the solicitation of the

* Penn's own words, found in a fragment of an "Apology for Himself," are of concise, but pregnant meaning. "That which engaged the Bishop of London to be warm in my persecution, was the credit some Presbyterian ministers had with him, and the *mistake* they improved against me, of *my denying the Divinity of Christ, and the doctrine of the Trinity.*"

"As I saw very few, so I saw them but seldom, except my own father and Dr. Stillingfleet, the present Bishop of Worcester. The one came as my relation, the other at the King's command, to endeavor my change of judgment. But as I told him, and he told the King, that the Tower was the worst argument in the world to convince me; for, whoever was in the wrong, those who used force for religion could never be in the right; so neither the doctor's arguments, nor his moving and interesting motives of the King's favor and preferment, at all prevailed; and I am glad I have the opportunity to own so publicly the great pains he took, and humanity he showed, and that to his moderation, learning, and kindness I will ever hold myself obliged." In *Memoirs of Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, Vol. III. Part II p. 239.

Admiral, William Penn was released from the Tower by a direct discharge from the King.

On his release, Penn was permitted to return to his father's house, and to reside there, though he was not admitted to his father's presence. We learn from Pepys, that the Admiral was a great sufferer from the gout, and was frequently confined at home. He lived but about a year after his son's release from the Tower. Perhaps his own irritability of constitution, as well as his disapprobation of his son's course, led to his refusal to see him, and made it probably more than desirable, that they should not then meet. It is pleasant, however, to know, that he had full confidence in his son's integrity and sincerity; for he gave William, through his mother, a commission to go again for him to Ireland on business. For this purpose, the son left London on the 15th of September, 1669, and, pursuing his own chosen work on the way, reached Cork on the 26th of October. Here, on the following day, he had a meeting, and, on the 5th of November, the national meeting of Friends was held at his lodgings in Dublin. At this meeting a letter was drawn up in behalf of the Quakers then confined in prison and under penalty, to whom Penn devoted himself; and he presented the appeal to the Lord Lieutenant, accompanied

by such interest, as served to procure their release in the following year.

Penn was by far the most important man for social standing and influence whom the Friends ever numbered in their society. His influence, which much increased after this, was continually enlisted in behalf of individuals and the whole body; and seldom did it fail wholly of success, though never used to the sacrifice of principle. Besides visiting prisons and attending meetings, he wrote several letters in Ireland, in behalf of his views, especially "A Letter of Love to the Young Convinced," designed to encourage the new converts.

In thus devoting himself to labors which lay nearest to his heart, William Penn did not slight, in any way, the commission which he had received from his father. He attended to this faithfully; and when it was executed, he returned home, where, much to his satisfaction, he was reconciled to his father, and permitted to reside in the house as an esteemed son.

CHAPTER V.

Conventicle Act. — Penn arrested while preaching in the Street in London. — His Trial, Commitment, and Discharge. — Death of his Father. — William settles the Estate. — His Labors. — Is again arrested and imprisoned. — Writings in Prison. — Travels in Holland and Germany. — His first Marriage. — His Ministry in England. — More controversial Writings and Disputation. — Penn first interested in America. — Persecution revived. — Correspondence and Discussion with Richard Baxter.

WILLIAM PENN had not long enjoyed the pleasures of liberty and reconciliation at home before he was called to new proofs of his zeal. The famous Conventicle Act, which was passed in 1670, rendered penal all meetings of dissenters for worship, and their religious gatherings thus became, in the eye of the law, riotous and tumultuous assemblies. This act operated with the greatest severity against the Quakers, who never took the shelter of concealment, of which all other dissenters, Protestant and Roman Catholic, availed themselves. The principles of the Friends would not allow of any subterfuge. They must not only meet

for worship, but must meet manfully in open places; and, more than all, their consciences compelled them to refuse to pay the fines, which were the penalty prior to imprisonment under the Conventicle Act.

The Quakers were thus excluded from their first public meeting-house in Grace Church Street, London. Some of them going there for public worship, August 15th, 1670, found the doors guarded by soldiers; and, as they remained near by and were joined by others, there was soon a gathering in the street. William Penn and William Mead addressed the meeting, and were forthwith arrested by a warrant from the Lord Mayor, by which they were committed to Newgate, to await their trial at the next Old Bailey sessions. This trial, which Penn afterwards, at his own expense, printed at large, with all the documents bearing upon it, was one of the most remarkable processes in English jurisdiction, inasmuch as the jury, in spite of much browbeating, overbearance, and severity from the court, agreed to clear the prisoners. The technicalities, exaggerations, and contrivances of the law were matters of especial abhorrence to the Quakers, who often "bore testimony" against them.

On this occasion, the accused immediate-

ly objected to the terms of the indictment, in which simple and peaceable people were charged with "tumultuously assembling, with force and arms, in contempt of the King," "to the great disturbance of his peace, and to the great terror of many of his people and subjects." With more than the acumen of lawyers, and with at least as much of sincerity, did William Penn and Mead plead their cause. The evidence failed to convict them, because, though evidence was adduced that they had spoken, no one could testify as to what they had said, and they therefore could not be proved to have preached. The jury were insulted and inhumanly treated, and kept in duress without refreshment for two days and two nights, because they would not bring in a verdict under dictation of the court; and after their final rendering of "Not guilty" was repeated by them, with their own signatures; they were each fined for contempt. The same fine was put upon Penn and Mead for contempt in wearing their hats; and, as they refused to pay, they were committed to a dirty hole in the bail-dock, and thence sent with the jury to Newgate. Penn's father remitted the amount to liberate him and his companion; otherwise, it would have gone unpaid.

Penn was released from Newgate only in

season to attend upon the last days of his father. Perhaps the Quaker historians have exaggerated the account of the temporary alienation of the Admiral from his elder son.* The father had tried the means, which naturally suggested themselves, to oppose what he regarded as the infatuated course of William, and his devotion to a purpose which brought with it ridicule and loss, rather than worldly profit. It is certain that the resolution and integrity of the son completely subdued the parent. The Admiral in his will intrusted his estate to William, with expressions of his confidence and love. Before his death, foreseeing that the principles of his son would bring upon him renewed legal penalties and social inflictions, he sent an express request from his chamber to the Duke of York, to ask from him and his royal brother their especial friendship and interference. A promise to that effect was returned, and William reaped a measure of advantage from it. The son has preserved among the dying testimonies in the

* Granville Penn, in his *Memoirs of the Admiral*, complains of this exaggeration of the Quaker historians. But William Penn, afterwards, while in Holland, gave an account of his early religious trials at a meeting, in which he speaks of his father's "whipping, beating, and turning [him] out of doors," in 1662.

second edition of his "No Cross, No Crown," the last counsels of his father, including a Christian retrospect of his own life, a lamentation over the impiety of the age, and some excellent rules of conduct for his heir. "Son William," said he, "if you and your friends keep to your plain way of preaching, and keep to your plain way of living, you will make an end of the priests to the end of the world." He died at Wanstead, September 16th, 1670, leaving his son an estate worth fifteen hundred pounds a year, with large claims against the government.

William Penn faithfully discharged the trust confided to him in behalf of the family; and henceforward, through his life, the cares of complicated business, and the work of his lay ministry, seem to have equally divided his time. The latter object was pursued more successfully, and with more satisfaction to himself, than the former. Soon after his father's death, hearing that the Quakers, and himself in particular, had been severely attacked by a Baptist preacher named Ives, of High Wycomb, Buckinghamshire, he insisted pertinaciously upon having an opportunity to reply in an open discussion. A brother of the preacher, excelling him in power, undertook the dispute in public with Penn; but, attempting to deal

unfairly, the Quakers gained a triumph over him. The dispute was upon "the inward light." The famous Thomas Ellwood, a pupil of Milton, was present.

On a visit to Oxford, in November of this year, he learned that the Quakers there, and in the neighborhood, had suffered at the hands of the students, and having reason to believe that the Vice-Chancellor had instigated or allowed these persecutions, he addressed to him a letter of a sort which that dignitary had not been wont to receive. In this epistle, he describes himself as "one who is above the fear of man, whose breath is in his nostrils," and addresses the Vice-Chancellor as a "poor mushroom."

During his sojourn at the family seat in Buckinghamshire this winter, he wrote a tract called "A seasonable Caveat against Popery," controverting a pamphlet in explanation of the Roman Catholic belief. This tract, which contains objections to matters of ritual, discipline, and faith in the Roman church, carefully draws the line between argument and persecution; and the thoroughness of its Protestantism might, it would seem, have shielded the author from the charge of being a Jesuit, under which he henceforward suffered much.

On the 5th of March, 1671, William Penn

was again apprehended by legal warrant. Being on a visit to London, he was speaking in a meeting-house of the Quakers in Wheeler Street, when he was forcibly drawn out into the street by a military guard, and conveyed to the Tower. He was soon arraigned before some of the same magistrates, who had conducted his former trial. The attempt to convict him by the Conventicle Act, and by the Oxford Act, respectively, failed by technical inefficacy of the testimony, much to the chagrin of the court. In this emergency, recourse was had to the oath of allegiance, the proffer of which, as a last resource, always secured the conviction of the Quakers, as their principles led them alike to be faithful to its requisitions, and to resist its imposition, because it embraced "a profane use" of the name of God. Penn, of course, refused to take the oath. The following is a portion of the conversation which ensued.

SIR JOHN ROBINSON, (Lieutenant of the Tower.) "I vow, Mr. Penn, I am sorry for you; you are an ingenious gentleman; all the world must allow you, and do allow you, that; and you have a plentiful estate. Why should you render yourself unhappy, by associating with such a simple people?"

PENN. "I confess, I have made it my

choice to relinquish the company of those that are ingeniously wicked, to converse with those that are more honestly simple."

ROBINSON. "I wish you wiser."

PENN. "And I wish thee better."

ROBINSON. "You have been as bad as other folks."

PENN. "When, and where? I charge thee to tell the company to my face."

ROBINSON. "Abroad, and at home too."

SIR JOHN SHELDEN, (as is supposed.) "No, no, Sir John, that's too much."

PENN. "I make this bold challenge to all men, women, and children upon earth, justly to accuse me with ever having seen me drunk, heard me swear, utter a curse, or speak one obscene word, much less that I ever made it my practice. I speak this to God's glory, that has ever preserved me from the power of those pollutions, and that from a child begot an hatred in me towards them. But there is nothing more common, than, when men are of a more severe life than ordinary, for loose persons to comfort themselves with the conceit, that they were once as they are, and as if there were no collateral or oblique line of the compass or globe, men may be said to come from to the arctic pole, but directly and immediately from the antarctic. Thy

words shall be thy burden, and I trample thy slander as dirt under my feet”

Penn nobly, and with great beauty as well as force of argument, urged his conscience, his loyalty, and his resolution. He was, however, sentenced to Newgate for six months, saying, as he left the court, “Thy religion persecutes, and mine forgives.” He employed the time of his confinement, as before, in labors of the pen, in defence and illustration of his principles. The chief of these was, “The Great Case of Liberty of Conscience.” This is an admirable plea from reason, Scripture, and history, in behalf of toleration, meeting objections and enforcing arguments with much learning and skill. Besides the highest authorities quoted in prose, he adduces old Chaucer. He likewise wrote, in Newgate, “Truth rescued from Imposture,” being a reply to a review of the account which he had published of his first trial; also, “A Serious Apology for the Principles and Practices of the People called Quakers,” which was particularly directed against a book of Thomas Fenner’s, aspersing and ridiculing the Friends. A second edition of “Truth exalted” being called for, Penn, while in Newgate, added to it a “Cautionary Postscript.” He united with other Quakers, then in prison, in addressing an ap-

peal to Parliament, which was at the time devising measures to enforce the Conventicle Act more stringently, and likewise in addressing the sheriffs of London, to expose the ill treatment which he and others received from the jailers. The Friends, when in prison, had no idea of being treated as felons, and resolved to resist all measures which confounded them with criminals. Penn, having received in Newgate a letter from a Roman Catholic, complaining of what he had written against the doctrines of that church, sent him a very racy reply, beginning thus; "My ingenious friend, I am persuaded I was cooler when I read thy letter than thou wast when thou writst it. If I may have so much credit with thee, and you Catholics are famous for believing, (though it be you know not what,) I do declare my end of animadverting upon that palliated confession was no other, than of presenting to the world the Catholic true creed; and I shall avouch the authorities."

After his liberty was again restored to him, Penn travelled for a short time in Holland and Germany. We have no account of this his first tour, except some occasional references to it in the narrative of his travels six years afterwards.

The declaration of indulgence published by

the King, March 15th, 1672, relieved the Non-conformists of all kinds from many civil penalties, and nearly five hundred imprisoned Quakers gained their liberty, while the whole body of them were for a time freed from legal persecution.

On his return from Holland, in the beginning of the year 1672, Penn, being then in his twenty-eighth year, married Gulielma Maria Springett. Her father, Sir William Springett, having been killed in the civil wars, at the siege of Bamber, while in the service of Parliament, her widowed mother had married Isaac Pennington, a famous preacher and sufferer among the Quakers. In his religious family the wife of Penn had received her education. After his marriage, Penn took a residence at Rickmansworth in Hertfordshire.*

Far from yielding himself to repose and the enjoyment of his property, Penn employed all his energies in a work, which constituted his

* Thomas Elwood, who was for many years an inmate and tutor in the family of Isaac Pennington, relates many interesting particulars concerning it, and especially concerning Gulielma. He describes her attractions of body and of mind, and refers to her many suitors. Indeed, it requires all our confidence in his own simple truthfulness, to admit his disavowal of having been greatly interested in her on his own part.

life. The Quakers, relieved from legal penalties, were still in the heat of controversy, suffering indignities from the populace, and from the ministers whose hearers, from time to time, went over by multitudes to the Friends. Their meetings were very frequent. In a tour, which Penn made in September, 1672, through Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, he preached twenty-one times in as many days, and his labors were always eminently successful. In November he wrote a letter of caution and exhortation against falling away, to Dr. Hasbert, a physician of Embden, in Germany, whom he had interested in his recent visit. He engaged with dissenters of all sorts, who grudged to the Quakers the protection of that mantle of toleration which sheltered themselves. In answer to an anonymous pamphlet, called "The Spirit of the Quakers tried," he published "The Spirit of Truth vindicated against that of Error and Envy," containing, among other proofs of learning and power, a comparison of all the versions of the Scripture, in all languages, as to their rendering of his favorite passage of "the inward light which lighteth every man."

In reply to the two wild fanatics, Reeves and Muggleton, he wrote "The New Witnesses proved Old Heretics." In the account given

of interviews between Penn and Muggleton, Greek seems to have met Greek, and Penn concludes that "the devil befooled himself," in choosing Reeves and Muggleton for his oracles. Under the title of "Plain Dealing with a traducing Anabaptist," Penn published, in January, 1673, his correspondence with John Morse, of Watford, who had attacked him. To another preacher, who had written, against the Quakers, "Controversy ended," Penn replied in "A Winding Sheet for Controversy ended." John Faldo, an Independent preacher, "being sensible that every sheep he lost carried away wool on his back," had attacked the Quakers in a book called "Quakerism no Christianity." Penn replied at length in his "Quakerism a New Nickname for old Christianity." Faldo wrote a rejoinder, to which Penn next year responded in a bulky volume, "The Invalidity of John Faldo's Vindication." In looking over these spicy tracts, which have kept their odor more tenaciously than the old mummies in the catacombs, we receive most lively impressions of the guerrilla warfare of sects, which succeeded in England to the stake and the fetter.

In 1673, Penn, accompanied by his wife, journeyed over the western part of England, and, meeting George Fox, who had lately re-

turned from Maryland, they had a series of meetings during a great fair at Bristol, and made many converts.

Thomas Hicks, a Baptist preacher, had written "A Dialogue between a Christian and a Quaker," and as he composed both parts of the controversy, he gained an easy victory, though the weak arguing of the Quaker assumed to be a fair exhibition of that side. To this Penn replied in one of his most dignified and thorough compositions, called "The Christian Quaker and his Divine Testimony stated and vindicated from Scripture, Reason, and Authority." Hicks wrote an addition to his Dialogue, taking no notice of Penn's answer, which contempt led the latter to write his "Reason against Railing, and Truth against Fiction." Hicks added still a third part to his Dialogue, and again Penn replied in "The Counterfeit Christian detected, and the Real Quaker justified." Hicks was silenced, but the Quakers, appealing to the Baptists generally, demanded a conference. This was granted; but, as advantage was taken of the absence of Penn and Whitehead, the former demanded a hearing for himself, in a paper entitled "William Penn's just Complaint against and solemn Offer of a public Meeting to the leading Baptists." Penn won his opportunity, and powerfully ad-

vocated the doctrine that Christ was "the Inward Light," as we learn from an account of the discussion which he sent to George Fox.

While this matter was in hand, Faldo sent Penn a challenge to a public discussion, which was declined. Faldo then published "A Curb to William Penn's Confidence." Penn rejoined in "A Return to John Faldo's Reply." Faldo then enlisted twenty-one ministers to write a preface to a second edition of his "Quakerism no Christianity," and Penn finally brought the controversy to a close in this quarter, by "A Just Rebuke to One and Twenty Learned and Reverend Divines," for which he received high commendation from the famous Dr. Henry More. In answer to Henry Halliwell, who wrote "Familism, as it is revived and propagated by the Quakers," Penn published his "Wisdom justified of her Children." And in reply to the Reverend Samuel Grevil, of the Established Church, who wrote "A Discourse against the Testimony of the Light within," Penn returned his "Urim and Thummim, or the Apostolical Doctrines of Light and Perfection maintained."

Dissension had already begun its work among the Friends. The doctrine of immediate revelations or inspiration proved to be dan-

gerous and delusive to some minds. Under its impulse, some Quakers had travelled on distant missions to the Pope and the Turks, and others had been guilty of great extravagances at home. John Perrot and John Luff had gone to Rome. The latter died in the Inquisition; the former, having been consigned to a madhouse, was restored to his friends in England through much interest made in his behalf. He "had a revelation" that he must keep on his hat in prayer, unless on occasions when he had a revelation to take it off. Acting in different places on this principle, he was, after a remonstrance, disowned by the Friends, and he gave forth his complaint in an anonymous pamphlet, called "The Spirit of the Hat." To this Penn replied in "The Spirit of Alexander the Coppersmith lately revived, and now justly rebuked." Perrot then attacked the principles of the Quakers, and Penn followed him up with a tract called "Judas and the Jews combined against Christ and his Followers."

In the same year, Penn wrote "A Discourse of the General Rule of Faith and Practice, and Judge of Controversy." Nor did his pen rest here; for, besides a paper entitled "The Proposed Comprehension (Toleration) soberly and not unseasonably considered," he

published six letters, three of them being in remonstrance or warning to individuals, and the others letters of encouragement to Quakers in Holland and Germany, in the United Netherlands, and in Maryland. The last is the first indication of his interest in the New World. George Fox had engaged him to intercede in behalf of the Quakers in Lord Baltimore's colony, and by application to the Attorney-General to relieve them from oaths and a military tax. Penn gave them his aid and advice. These numerous writings engaged the zeal as well as the time of the author. As to their spirit, it may truly be said that it is not so severe as that of the books which he controverted. Of course the fact, that, in each and all of them, he goes over much the same ground of subject and argument, lessens our wonder at their number. His letter to Mary Pennyman, an apostate, is a remarkable specimen of plain language and spiritual rebuke.

In the year 1674, Parliament having pronounced the King's declaration of indulgence illegal, the Quakers again came under severe persecution. They were fined, imprisoned, robbed, and inhumanly treated, under the Conventicle Act and the Oath of Allegiance. Their refusal to swear and to pay any fines increased their sufferings. Penn wrote, in their behalf,

letters of remonstrance to justices of the peace, and to the King, naming some persecutors. Finding these of no avail, he published, successively, "A Treatise of Oaths;" "England's present Interest considered with Honor to the Prince and Safety to the People;" and "The Continued Cry of the Oppressed for Justice," all of them works of much solidity, skill, and wisdom. Besides these, he wrote a long Latin letter to the senate at Embden, against the persecution of the Quakers there, and three controversial works, as follows; "Naked Truth needs no Shift," in answer to "The Quaker's Last Shift found out;" "Jeremy Ives's Sober Request proved in the Matter of it to be false, and impertinent, and impudent;" and "Libels no Proofs." Through his incessant interest, George Fox, then in prison, was liberated.

In the year 1675, while residing at Rickmansworth, and preaching in the neighborhood, which abounded with Quakers, he had a correspondence, of which five pungent letters of his own are preserved, with the famous Richard Baxter. This led to an open discussion between them before a large audience, and both parties claimed the victory. Penn also published a small tract, called "Saul smitten to the Ground," being an account of the dy-

ing, suffering, and remorse of Matthew Hide, an enemy and troubler of the Quakers. Another letter, to a Roman Catholic, is dated October 9th of this year. These abundant labors vindicate the claims of Penn to an honorable fame in England, independently of his influence engaged on this side of the water, where his interest was now turned.

CHAPTER VI.

Penn first concerned in American Colonization. — A Trustee of West New Jersey. — His Arrangements for its Settlement by Quakers. — His zealous Efforts are successful. — His second Tour in Holland and Germany. — Returns to England, and labors. — Persecution revived. — Penn petitions Parliament for the Quakers. — His political Influence. — Intercedes in Behalf of West New Jersey.

WHATEVER weight may be attached to the miraculous "opening as to these parts," which William Penn said he had in his youth, it would seem as if a mere accident first interested him in American colonization. Flatter-

ing reports having circulated in England of the prosperity of the numerous Quakers, who had settled in the central plantations of the New World, led others of the Society to turn their attention thither, as to a place of refuge and peace. Lord Berkeley and Sir John Carteret having become joint patentees from the Duke of York of the province of New Jersey, the former, in 1674, conveyed his portion by deed to John Fenwick, in trust for himself and Edward Byllynge. Both Fenwick and Byllynge were Quakers. The former seems to have been dishonest or unfair, and a dispute arose between him and his partner. Instead of having recourse to law, by a better custom of their own, the Quakers called in the arbitration of William Penn, and his decision was in favor of Byllynge. Fenwick, though manifestly in the wrong, still refused to yield; but the influence and expostulatory letters of Penn at last so far prevailed, that he acceded to the settlement, and, in 1675, embarked, with his family and other Quakers, for West Jersey.

The attention of Penn was, for a season, called from his new employment to his more familiar work of controversy; and in answer to John Cheney's "Skirmish upon Quakerism," he published "The Skirmisher defeated, and

Truth defended." He also wrote, in 1676, a hortatory letter of ten folio pages, addressed jointly to the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Frederic of Bohemia, and granddaughter of James the First, and to her friend and companion, the Countess of Hornes. Robert Barclay, then on a tour of preaching on the Continent, had visited these noble ladies, and found them well disposed to the principles of the Quakers. Penn availed himself of the information to excite and advise them.

After an adjustment had been made between Fenwick and Byllynge, the latter, being too much embarrassed to improve it, made over all his property to Penn, and two of his creditors as trustees. Penn assumed the office with reluctance, but immediately devoted himself to its discharge. The province was divided into East New Jersey, then somewhat thickly settled under Carteret, and West New Jersey; and the latter was apportioned into a hundred *proprieties*, ten of which were assigned to Fenwick, and ninety were held in trust for Byllynge. These were immediately offered for sale, and emigration to them was invited. Penn had the principal hand in drawing up a frame of government, under the title of *Concessions*, or terms of grant and agreement, to be mutually signed by the assignees and the

purchasers. "We put the power in the people," says Penn. Invitations were circulated with this paper to induce Quakers especially to avail themselves of its privileges. Some considerable difference of opinion arose in the Society at large, about what seemed a dereliction of principles, by leaving home and escaping persecution, while others entertained too flattering hopes.

To meet these conflicting views, the assignees addressed an admonitory circular letter to the members of the Society, cautioning the sanguine and encouraging the timid. This letter was accompanied by a "Description of West New Jersey," designed to be fair in its delineations, and not at all Utopian. The form of government was inviting, as it embraced religious freedom, and copied the provision in the enactments of Berkeley and Carteret, that there should be no taxation independent of the allowance of the settlers. Great zeal being now manifested to emigrate, two companies of Quakers, the one from London, the other from Yorkshire, made large purchases of land, and the assignees appointed commissioners from them to treat with the Indians and previous white settlers about their just rights to the territory, to apportion the lots, and to administer the government for a year. These arrange-

ments were completed by Penn and his colleagues in the early part of 1677. He had at that time left his residence at Rickmansworth, and removed to Worminghurst, in Sussex. The work which he had assumed was congenial to his taste, and was performed under a sense of high responsibility. His spirit was likewise somewhat calmed in the retirement and study which were necessary in his trust, and the change of occupation from the consuming passions of controversy, to the deliberate business of legislation, doubtless had a good effect on his whole character. His later years certainly exhibit an alteration of temper, and his later writings show more of a spirit of moderation. The most devoted admirers and eulogists of Penn take upon themselves an unnecessary as well as a doubtful office, when they would vindicate his religious zeal from the charge of partaking largely in the less commendable traits of the early Quakers. It is no reproach to him, that age enlarged his wisdom, and that reflection increased his charity.

Penn had the satisfaction of bringing his labors for the Quaker colonization of West New Jersey to a propitious result. In 1677, three vessels, two from London and one from Hull, sailed for their new destination, carrying

more than four hundred Quakers, who gave to their settlement the name of Burlington, and were rapidly joined by successive reinforcements from their Society. Charles the Second, in his pleasure barge, went alongside the first vessel, in the Thames, and gave to the passengers his blessing, such as it was.

After attending the yearly meeting of the Quakers in London, in June, 1677, and interesting himself in behalf of those who were suffering there, Penn visited his mother in Essex, and then, fulfilling a purpose which he had long cherished, he sailed for Holland in "the service of the gospel." Accompanied by Fox, Barclay, and six other Quakers, with two servants, he embarked at Harwich for Rotterdam, July 26th. As has been already remarked, these journeys into foreign lands, to spread the principles of the Quakers, had engaged many devoted laborers. The names of persons high and low in station, simple, and wise in intellect, who were "seeking truth and life," and were favorably disposed toward the new dispensation, were discovered, and the persons were sought out. Information was most methodically communicated at the yearly, monthly, and weekly meetings of the Friends, and thus a chain, as strong and more visible than that of sympathy, was made to unite believers

all over Christian Europe. The Princess Elizabeth had answered Penn's letter, and some pardonable gratification at the prospect of so distinguished a convert encouraged him for his second ministerial tour. The master of the vessel which carried him, having sailed with his father, showed him kindness on board.

Penn, separating at times from his companions, and joining others, travelled diligently over Holland and Germany, making the most of every opportunity to disseminate his views. He made use of any mode of conveyance that came to his relief, and, failing of such aid, his feet were sufficient. He held meetings in chambers, rooms, and public places; he rose from his bed, after having retired, to expound his principles to the inquisitive, and endeavored to be present at all the regular assemblies already established on the Continent by little communities of Friends. He paid particular attention to distinguished converts, and to the disciples who had been gathered by De Labadie, whose views resembled his own. He assisted in drawing up rules of discipline. He wrote many letters to foreigners, and to his own countrymen, one of them being addressed to the King of Poland, remonstrating with him for his persecuting spirit, and another to those of his own Society in England, who,

dissatisfied with the attempts recently made to repress extravagances, and to maintain discipline in the body, had caused discord and separation. After a most successful tour, closed, however, by a stormy and dangerous passage, he reached Harwich on his return, October 24th, 1677, and multiplied his letters of counsel in all directions. These travels doubtless suggested to Penn much information, which was subsequently of value to him, and gave him an enlarged acquaintance with human nature. Emigrants from nearly every place which he visited were afterwards found in the Jerseys, or in Pennsylvania.

He returned to his family, and enjoyed a season of repose, which was brief, and not free from interruptions. Business and zeal led him to frequent visits to London. In the same year, he went, with other Quaker leaders, to Bristol, and took part in a famous dispute with William Rogers, the head of the separatists and the antagonist of Barclay.

But his services were now engaged in a new emergency of danger, to ward off from the Quakers more inflictions arising from the troubles of the times. The discovery of the pretended Popish plot had inflamed the people and their rulers against the Roman Catholics. The cry of the Jesuits was in every ear, and

imagination conjured up all horrors as meditated by them, while it discovered beneath all the disguises of sectarianism and fanaticism, only the more sly and dangerous members of that order. The act under which most stringent penalties were visited on the Papists included all dissenters, but fell most heavily upon the Quakers, who sought no concealment, and who therefore suffered renewed trials and losses. They were, moreover, regarded as disguised Jesuits of the most dangerous sort, by the mass of the people; and this delusion was only conformed to the prevailing idea, that Popery was the *Mystery of Iniquity*. Penn, especially, was publicly accused of being in orders and under pay of the Pope.

Parliament, recognizing the justice of distinguishing between Protestant and Popish dissenters, designed a protecting clause, which would relieve all who would take the oath and subscribe the declaration against Popery. The Quakers could not take the oath, and were thus subjected to the prosecutions of the exchequer, and to the rage of the populace. Penn, therefore, presented petitions to both houses, objecting to the form, not to the matter of the protecting clause, and asking that the word of the Quakers might stand for their oaths; a falsehood in them being punished as

perjury. He was admitted to a hearing before a committee of the Commons, March 22d, 1678. Here he positively denied the absurd charge of being a Jesuit; and, while pleading for his own friends, he magnanimously included the Roman Catholics in his plea. "I would not be mistaken. I am far from thinking it fit that Papists should be whipped for their consciences, because I exclaim against the injustice of whipping Quakers for Papists. No! for though the hand, pretended to be lifted up against them, hath (I know not by what discretion) lit heavy upon us, and we complain, yet we do not mean that any should take a fresh aim at them, or that they must come in our room. We must give the liberty we ask, and cannot be false to our principles, though it were to relieve ourselves."

On a second hearing before the committee, Penn spoke again in much the same strain. He says, "I was bred a Protestant, and that strictly too. I lost nothing by time or study; for years, reading, travel, and observations made the religion of my education the religion of my judgment." He proceeds to vindicate his friends as thorough Protestants, and as supporters of government, being perfectly satisfied with that which was established, and determined, "with Christian humility and patience,

to tire out all mistakes about us, and wait their better information, who, we believe, do as undeservedly as severely treat us." These appeals of Penn so far availed, that a clause for the relief of the Quakers was introduced into the bill before Parliament, and passed the Commons, but had not reached its third reading in the upper house when Parliament was prorogued. It was by this resolute and unyielding pertinacity, that the Quakers before long secured to themselves freedom from oaths and from military service, and liberty to solemnize their own marriages.

Penn published this year "A Brief Answer to a False and Foolish Libel," in reply to an anonymous book, called "The Quakers' Opinions," which undertook to represent the sentiments of the Friends by extracts from some of their writings, with comments. He also wrote "An Epistle to the Children of Light in this Generation," which was designed to calm and strengthen the minds of the Quakers amid the real trials and the panics and anxieties of those times of trouble.

In the following year, 1679, Penn attempted to do for all his Protestant brethren the same kind service, which he had performed for the members of his own Society, namely, to calm and direct their anxious feelings under the

panic, which distracted all minds on account of the expected restoration of Popery. In "An Address to Protestants of all Persuasions upon the present Conjuncture, more especially to the Magistracy and Clergy, for the Promotion of Virtue and Charity," he advanced truths and counsels equally and permanently valuable in all social emergencies. He exposed the prevailing wickedness in high and low places; he presented in a strong light the utter folly of all human tests and standards in matters of faith, and he traced these sins and errors to their fruitful causes. About the same time, too, William Penn performed a grateful labor of love, in writing a preface to a folio collection of the works of Samuel Fisher, an eminent and honored preacher among the Friends, who died while imprisoned for his faith.

Penn made himself many enemies, at this period of his life, by his close attention to each crisis in the ever shifting distractions of the time. He filled a prominent place in public affairs, because of his intimacies at court, his acquaintance with party leaders, and his position as the acknowledged head of his religious Society. His enemies could not or would not discriminate between the avowed opposition of the Quakers to all civil enactments about religion, and their supposed obli-

gation to take no part in the great public agitations of the time. Because they resisted all restraints of conscience, and would not fight, nor swear, it was exacted of them that they should be silent spectators of the turmoil and ferment of that troubled period. But they could discriminate more wisely. When writs were issued for a new Parliament, Penn engaged the interest of many freeholders of his Society, and made strenuous exertions, which brought upon himself insult and abuse, in a repeated attempt, unsuccessful in both instances, to secure the election of his friend the famous Algernon Sydney. He also wrote a pamphlet, equally plain in its counsel, to the court and the people, entitled "England's great Interest in the Choice of a new Parliament, dedicated to all her Freeholders and Electors." This was followed by a volume, containing "One Project for the Good of England; that is, our Civil Union is our Civil Safety." In this latter work, he aims to secure protection for Protestant dissenters as citizens, by suggesting some test which will distinguish them from the subjects of the Pope, though he carefully demands freedom from persecution for all.

His pen was exercised, in 1680, in writing Prefaces to three books, put forth by the Qua-

kers in expostulation and complaint of the renewed inflictions visited upon them, and also in a Preface to the works of Isaac Pennington, already mentioned as the step-father of Mrs. Penn.

Meanwhile, as one of the trustees of Byllynge, and as agent for the settlers in West New Jersey, the court influence of Penn was engaged in their behalf this year. That colony was now flourishing in early prosperity, and many of the Quakers, in successive companies, were seeking its laborious retreats. But its prosperity was threatened, and its colonists were oppressed, by the renewal of a tax laid upon it, ten years before, in favor of the Duke of York, its original proprietary. Governor Andros, of the province of New York, revived the demand at this time, and of course the trustees of Byllynge were appealed to, to secure the fulfilment of the contract under which the settlers, succeeding, as they maintained, to the rights of Berkeley and Byllynge, had purchased. At the risk of offending the Duke of York, Penn applied to him for relief. The Duke referred the matter to the council, and, after some time, by the decision of Sir William Jones, the colonists were declared exempt from the burden.

CHAPTER VII.

Penn petitions the King for a Grant of Land in America. — Opposition to it. — His Success. — The Charter. — Title of his Province. — Is a Purchaser of East New Jersey. — His Influence in his religious Society. — Preparations for the Settlement of his Province. — First Emigration. — Penn's first Proceedings. — Elected to the Royal Society. — He escapes another Arrest. — Death of his Mother. — His Frame of Government. — Obtains a Release from the Duke of York, and a Deed of the Territories. — Prepares to embark. — His Counsels to his Family.

THE interest of William Penn having been thus engaged, for some time, in the colonization of an American province, and the idea having become familiar to his mind of establishing there a Christian home as a refuge for Friends, and the scene for a fair trial of their principles, he availed himself of many favorable circumstances to become a proprietary himself. The negotiations in which he had had so conspicuous a share, and the information which his inquiring mind would gather from the adventurers in the New World, gave him

all the knowledge which was requisite for his further proceedings. Though he had personal enemies in high places, and the project which he designed crossed the interests of the Duke of York and of Lord Baltimore, yet his court influence was extensive, and he knew how to use it. The favor of the monarch, and of his brother the Duke, had, as before stated, been sought by the dying Admiral for his son, and freely promised. But William Penn had a claim more substantial than a royal promise of those days. The crown was indebted to the estate of the Admiral for services, loans, and interest, to the amount of sixteen thousand pounds. The exchequer, under the convenient management of Shaftesbury, would not meet the claim. Penn, who was engaged in settling the estate of his father, petitioned the King, in June, 1680, for a grant of land in America, as a payment for all these debts.*

The request was laid before the Privy Council, and then before the Committee of Trade and Plantations. Penn's success must have been owing to great interest made on his behalf; for both the Duke of York, by his attorney, and Lord Baltimore, opposed him. As proprietors of territory bounding on the

* The Petition is in *Pennsylvania Papers*, page 1, and in *Journal of the Plantation Office*, Vol. III. p. 174.

tract which he asked for, and as having been already annoyed by the conflict of charters granted in the New World, they were naturally unfairly biased. The application made to the King succeeded after much debate. The provisions in the charter of Lord Baltimore were adopted by Penn with slight alterations. Sir William Jones objected to one of the provisions, which allowed a freedom from taxation, and the Bishop of London, as the ecclesiastical supervisor of plantations, proposed another provision, to prevent too great liberty in religious matters. Chief Justice North having reduced the patent to a satisfactory form, to guard the King's prerogative and the powers of Parliament, it was signed by writ of privy seal at Westminster, March 4th, 1681. It made Penn the owner of about forty thousand square miles of territory.

This charter is given at length by Proud and other writers.* The preamble states, that

* History of Pennsylvania, Vol. I. p. 171-187. The long interval, which elapsed between Penn's request for the grant and his reception of the charter, was occupied by discussions in the council, and by correspondence with Sir John Werden, in behalf of the Duke of York, and the agents of Lord Baltimore. All the documents may be found in Hazard's *Register of Pennsylvania*, Vol. I. pp 269-271, and 273, 274

the design of William Penn was to enlarge the British empire, and to civilize and convert the savages. The first section avers that his petition was granted on account of the good purposes of the son, and the merits and services of the father. The bounds of the territory are thus defined; "All that tract or part of land, in America, with the islands therein contained, as the same is bounded on the east by Delaware River, from twelve miles distance northwards of New Castle town, unto the three and fortieth degree of northern latitude, if the said river doth extend so far northward; but if the said river shall not extend so far northward, then, by the said river, so far as it doth extend; and from the head of the said river, the eastern bounds are to be determined by a meridian line to be drawn from the head of the said river, unto the said forty-third degree. The said land to extend westward five degrees in longitude, to be computed from the said eastern bounds; and the said lands to be bounded on the north by the beginning of the three and fortieth degree of northern latitude, and on the south by a circle drawn at twelve miles' distance from New Castle, northward and westward, unto the beginning of the fortieth degree of northern latitude;

and then by a straight line westward to the limits of longitude above mentioned.”

Though these boundaries appear to be given with definiteness and precision, a controversy, notwithstanding, arose at once between Penn and Lord Baltimore, which outlasted the lives of both of them, and, being continued by their representatives, was not in fact closed until the revolutionary war.

The charter vested the perpetual proprietaryship of this territory in William Penn and his heirs, on the fealty of the annual payment of two beaver-skins; it authorized him to make and execute laws not repugnant to those of England, to appoint judges, to receive those who wished to transport themselves, *to establish a military force*, to constitute municipalities, and to carry on a free commerce. It required that an agent of the proprietor should reside in or near London, and provided for the rights of the Church of England. The charter also disclaimed all taxation, except through the proprietor, the Governor, the Assembly, or Parliament, and covenanted, that, if any question of terms or conditions should arise, it should be decided in favor of the proprietor. By a declaration to the inhabitants and planters of Pennsylvania, dated April 2d, the King confirmed the charter, to ratify it for all who

might intend to emigrate under it, and to require compliance from all whom it concerned.

By a letter from Penn to his friend Robert Turner, written upon the day on which the charter was signed, we learn that the proprietor designed to call his territory *New Wales*; but the under-secretary, a Welshman, opposed it. Penn then suggested *Sylvania*, as applicable to the forest region; but the secretary, acting under instructions, prefixed *Penn* to this title. The modest and humble Quaker offered the official twenty guineas as a bribe to leave off his name. Failing again, he went to the King, and stated his objection; but the King said he would take the naming upon himself, and insisted upon it as doing honor to the old Admiral.*

Having the satisfaction of hearing of the flourishing prospects of West New Jersey, Penn became, with eleven others, a purchaser of East New Jersey, which was sold in February, 1682, according to the will of Sir George Carteret. Twelve more partners, nearly all of whom were Quakers, as were the whole of the first twelve, were admitted to the purchase and management; and this colony,

* *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, Vol. I. p. 201.

of which Elizabeth Town was the capital, was soon populous and prosperous.

With all the increasing cares which Penn was about to assume, he was not remiss in the discharge of the duty, which seems to have been looked for from him rather than assumed by him, of acting as the guiding mind of his enlarged religious Society. At this time, the line was drawn between the fanatical or enthusiastic party, who laid claim to special revelations, which they followed to the contempt of discipline, and the moderate party, who were in favor of the judicious methods and restraints, which have since given compactness and dignity to the Society of Friends. Penn showed his judgment, not only by the side which he had espoused from the beginning, but by his mode of expostulating with the unruly and discordant. He published a little tract, entitled "A Brief Examination and State of Liberty Spiritual, both with Respect to Persons in their private Capacity, and in their Church Society and Communion." He also engaged most zealously for the relief of several members of his Society, who had been fined and imprisoned at Bristol, and wrote "A Letter to the Friends of God in the City of Bristol."

Penn now resigned the charge of West New

Jersey, and devoted himself to the preliminary tasks, which should make his province available to himself and others. He sent over, in May, his cousin and secretary, Colonel William Markham, then only twenty-one years old, to make such arrangements for his own coming as might be necessary.* This gentleman, who acted as Penn's deputy, carried over from him a letter, dated London, April 8th, 1681, addressed "For the Inhabitants of Pennsylvania; to be read by my Deputy." This was a courteous announcement of his proprietaryship and intentions to the Dutch, Swedes, and English, who, to the number, probably, of about three thousand, were then living within his patent.†

Penn's object being to obtain adventurers and settlers at once, he published "Some Account of the Province of Pennsylvania, in America, lately granted, under the Great Seal of England, to William Penn." This was

* Anthony Brockholls, Lieutenant-Governor of New York, having received Markham's credentials, issued an Order conformed to them, to all magistrates in Pennsylvania, dated June 21st, 1681. Hazard's *Register of Pennsylvania*, Vol. I. p. 305.

† The original letter has been recovered by the zealous pains of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, and appears in their *Memoirs*, Vol. III. Part II. p. 205.

accompanied by a copy of the charter, and a statement of the terms on which the land was to be sold, with judicious advice addressed to those who were disposed to transport themselves, warning them against mere fancy dreams, or the desertion of friends, and encouraging them by all reasonable expectations of success.

The terms of sale were, for a hundred acres of land, forty shillings purchase money, and one shilling as an annual quitrent. This latter stipulation, made in perfect fairness, not unreasonable in itself, and ratified by all who of their own accord acceded to it, was, as we shall see, an immediate cause of disaffection, and has ever since been the basis of a calumny against the honored and most estimable founder of Pennsylvania.

Under date of July 11th, 1681, Penn published "Certain Conditions or Concessions to be agreed upon by William Penn, Proprietary and Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania, and those who may become Adventurers and Purchasers in the same Province." These conditions relate to dividing, planting, and building upon the land, saving mulberry and oak trees, and dealing with the Indians. These documents were circulated, and imparted sufficient knowledge of the country and its prod-

uce, so that purchasers at once appeared, and Penn went to Bristol to organize there a company called "The Free Society of Traders in Pennsylvania,"* who purchased twenty thousand acres of land, and prepared to establish various trades in the province.

Yet further to mature his plans, and to begin with a fair understanding among all who might be concerned in the enterprise, Penn drew up and submitted a sketch of the frame of government, providing for alterations, with a preamble for liberty of conscience. On the basis of contracts and agreements thus made, and mutually ratified, three passenger ships, two from London and one from Bristol, sailed for Pennsylvania in September, 1681. One of

* The constitution of this society, copied from an old contemporaneous pamphlet, is in Hazard's *Register of Pennsylvania*, Vol. I. p. 394, 397. It appears in a letter from Penn to Robert Turner, dated August 25th, 1681, that a very tempting offer was made to him to enrich himself by sacrificing one of his most cherished purposes. "I did refuse a great temptation last second day, which was six thousand pounds, and pay the Indians, for six shares, and make the purchasers a company, to have wholly to itself the Indian trade from south to north, between the Susquahanagh and Delaware Rivers, paying me two and a half *per cent.* acknowledgment or rent." *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, Vol. I p 205.

them made an expeditious passage; another was frozen up in the Delaware; and the third, driven to the West Indies, was long delayed. They took over some of the ornamental work of a house for the proprietor.

The Governor also sent over three commissioners, whose instructions we learn from the original document addressed to them by Penn, dated September 30th, 1681.* These commissioners were William Crispin, John Bezar, and Nathaniel Allen. Their duty was that of "settling the colony." Penn refers them to his cousin Markham, "now on the spot." He instructs them to take good care of the people; to guard them from extortionate prices for commodities from the earlier inhabitants; to select a site by the river, and there to lay out a town; to have his letter to the Indians read to them in their own tongue; to make them presents from him, (adding, "Be grave; they love not to be smiled upon;") and to enter into a league of amity with them. Penn also instructs the commissioners to select a site for his own occupancy, and closes with some good advice in behalf of order and virtue.

* This document likewise has been recovered by the Pennsylvania Historical Society, and appears in their *Memoirs*, Vol. II. Part I. p. 215-221.

These commissioners probably did not sail until the latter part of October, as they took with them the letter to the Indians, to which Penn refers. This letter, bearing date October 18th, 1681, is a beautiful expression of feeling on the part of the proprietor. He does not address the Indians as heathen, but as his brethren, the children of the one Father. He announces to them his accession, as far as a royal title could legitimate it, to a government in their country; he distinguishes between himself and those who had ill treated the Indians, and pledges his love and service.

About this time, William Penn was elected a fellow of the Royal Society of London, probably by nomination of his friend Dr. John Wallis, one of its founders, and with the hope that his connection with the New World would enable him to advance its objects.

From an incident which now occurred to Penn we gather a very lively image of "the form and pressure" of the age, and of the strange conflicts and measures of a government, which, while it removed all its penalties from wicked actions, laid them heavily upon scrupulous consciences. While immersed in his many cares, and making arrangements to embark for his possessions, this distinguished man, who, by court influence and personal

worth, had been invested with the delegated sovereignty of a territory, which might be compared for size with England, very narrowly escaped being apprehended on a visit to a Quaker meeting in London. The force of his own words, when preaching, overawed the constable, who had a warrant to arrest him and commit him to prison.

The death of his mother, at this time, was a severe affliction to Penn. She was worthy of his esteem, and had tenderly confirmed her claims to it by her constant kindness when his father was alienated from him. He felt her loss most deeply; it caused him a temporary illness and confinement.

The constitution of Pennsylvania, or frame of government, the sketch of which he had offered to the Society of Traders, was now published as amended, consisting of a preface, twenty-four articles, and forty laws. He introduces it with a very clear and admirable statement of the positive necessity of government, its authority, design, and good ends, with its means; its object being not only to resist evil, but to advance many excellent concerns. As to particular frames and models, he is brief, for he would rather be cautious than inventive. Many tyros were then speculating upon government, and offering Utopian schemes.

No frame, he says, can or ought to be unalterable on emergencies; each must be adapted to the peculiarities of place and people; the worst planned, in good hands, may effect good; the best, in ill hands, will do nothing good: "Any government is free to the people under it when the laws rule, and the people are a party to those laws." Governments rather depend upon men, than men upon governments.

In drawing up his constitution, Penn had the advice of Sir William Jones, and of Colonel Henry Sydney, brother of Algernon Sydney. The government was to be in the hands of the Governor and freemen, constituting a Provincial Council and a General Assembly, to be chosen by the freemen. The Governor, or his deputy, was to be president of the Council, with a treble vote. The Council was to consist of twenty-two members, with a successive renewal of a third of the number annually. The proposing and execution of the laws rested with the Council. The General Assembly, with no other power than that of approving or rejecting a measure, was to consist, at first, of all the freemen; the next year of two hundred, with a provision for its increase. Elections were to be by ballot. The constitution was not to be altered without consent of the Governor, and six sev-

enths of the freemen in both branches. The forty laws were simple in form, comprehensive, wise, and just.

With a caution, which the experience of former purchasers rendered essential, Penn obtained of the Duke of York a release of all his claims within the patent. His Royal Highness executed a quitclaim to William Penn and his heirs, on the 21st of August, 1682. The Duke had executed, in March, a ratification of his two former grants of East Jersey. But a certain fatality seemed to attend upon these transfers of ducal possessions. After various conflicts and controversies long continued, we may add, though by anticipation, that the proprietaryship of both the Jerseys was abandoned, and they were surrendered to the crown under Queen Anne, in April, 1702.

Penn also obtained of the Duke of York another tract of land adjoining his patent. This region, afterwards called the Territories, and the three Lower Counties, now Delaware, had been successively held by the Swedes and Dutch, and by the English at New York. The Duke confirmed it to William Penn, by two deeds, dated August 24th, 1682.

The last care on the mind of William Penn, before his embarkation, was to prepare proper counsel and instructions for his wife and chil-

dren. This he did in the form of a letter, written at Worminghurst, August 4th, 1682. He knew not that he should ever see them again, and his heart poured forth to them the most touching utterances of affection. But it was not the heart alone which indited the epistle. It expressed the wisest counsels of prudence and discretion. All the important letters written by Penn contain a singular union of spiritual and worldly wisdom. Indeed, he thought these two ingredients to be but one element. He urged economy, filial love, purity, and industry, as well as piety, upon his children. He favored, though he did not insist upon their receiving his religious views. We may express a passing regret, that he who could give such advice to his children should not have had the joy to leave behind him any one, who could meet the not inordinate wish of his heart.

In the mean while, his deputy, Markham, acting by his instructions, was providing him a new home, by purchasing for him, of the Indians, a piece of land, the deed of which is dated July 15th, and endorsed with a confirmation, August 1st, and by commencing upon it the erection, which was afterwards known as Pennsbury Manor.

CHAPTER VIII.

Penn embarks for his Province. — Passage, Arrival, Landing Day, at New Castle. — Visits New York, Long Island, and the Jerseys. — Holds Assembly at Chester. — Legislation. — Unites the Territories. — Conference with Lord Baltimore. — Early Incidents. — Penn's Treaty with the Indians. — The Treaty Tree, Pennsbury. — Philadelphia. — Survey and Division of the Province and Territories. — The Assembly Convened. — New Frame of Government. — Judicial Proceedings. — Witchcraft. — Education. — Interest in the Indians. — Penn's Letter to the Free Society of Traders. — Difficulties with Lord Baltimore. — Penn resolves to return to England. — Preparations. — Assembly. — Prosperity of the Province.

ALL his arrangements being completed, William Penn, at the age of thirty-eight, well, strong, and hopeful of the best results, embarked for his colony, on board the ship *Welcome*, of three hundred tons, Robert Greenaway master, on the last of August, 1682. While in the Downs, he wrote a Farewell Letter to Friends, the Unfaithful and Inquir-

ing in his native land,* dated August 30th, and probably many private letters. He had about one hundred fellow-passengers, mostly Friends from his own neighborhood in Sussex. The vessel sailed about the 1st of September, and almost immediately the smallpox, that desolating scourge of the passenger ships of those days, appeared among the passengers, and thirty fell victims to it. The trials of that voyage, told to illustrate the Christian spirit which submissively encountered them, were long repeated from father to son, and from mother to daughter.

In about six weeks the ship entered the Delaware River. The old inhabitants along the shores, which had been settled by the whites for about half a century, received Penn with equal respect and joy. He arrived at New Castle, on the 27th of October. The day was not commemorated by annual observances, until the year 1824, when a meeting for that purpose was held at an inn, in Lætitia Court,† where Penn had resided. While the ship and its company went up the river, the proprietor, on the next day, called the inhabitants, who were

* This is not given in the folio edition of Penn's Works.

† Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia*, Vol. I. p. 15.

principally Dutch and Swedes, to the Court-House, where, after addressing them, he assumed and received the formal possession of the country. He renewed the commissions of the old magistrates, who urged him to unite the Territories to his government.

After a visit of ceremony to the authorities at New York and Long Island, with a passing token to his friends in New Jersey, Penn went to Upland to hold the first Assembly, which opened on the 4th of December. Nicholas Moore, an English lawyer, and President of the Free Society of Traders, was made speaker. After three days' peaceful debate, the Assembly ratified, with modifications, the laws made in England, with about a score of new ones, of a local, moral, or religious character, in which not only the drinking of healths, but the talking of scandal, was forbidden. By suggestion of his friend and fellow-voyager Pearson, who came from Chester in England; Penn substituted that name for Upland. By an Act of Union, passed on the 7th of December, the three Lower Counties, or the Territories, were joined in the government, and the foreigners were naturalized at their own request.

On his arrival, Penn had sent two messengers to Charles Calvert, Lord Baltimore, to pro-

pose a meeting and conference with him about their boundaries. On the 19th of December,* they met at West River with courtesy and kindness; but, after three days, they concluded to wait for the more propitious weather of the coming year. Penn, on his way back, attended a religious meeting at a private house, and afterwards an official meeting at Choptank, on the eastern shore of the Chesapeake, and reached Chester again by the 29th of December, where much business engaged him. About twenty-three ships had arrived by the close of the year; none of them met with disaster, and all had fair passages. The new comers found a comparatively easy sustenance. Provisions were obtained at a cheap rate of the Indians, and of the older settlers. But great hardships were endured by some, and special providences are commemorated. Many found their first shelter in caves scooped out in the steep bank of the river. When these caves were deserted by their first occupants, the poor or the vicious made them a refuge; and one of the earliest signs both of prosperity and of corruption, in the colony, is disclosed in the mention, that these rude coverts of the first

* Penn's Letter to Lords' Committee of Plantations.

devoted emigrants soon became tippling-houses and nuisances, in the misuse of the depraved.

There has been much discussion, of late years, concerning the far-famed treaty of Penn with the Indians. A circumstance, which has all the interest both of fact and of poetry, was confirmed by such unbroken testimony of tradition, that history seemed to have innumerable records of it in the hearts and memories of each generation. But as there appears no document or parchment of such criteria as to satisfy all inquirers, historical skepticism has ventured upon the absurd length of calling in question the fact of the treaty. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, with commendable zeal, has bestowed much labor upon the questions connected with the treaty; and the results which have been attained can scarcely fail to satisfy a candid inquirer. All claim to a peculiar distinction for William Penn, on account of the singularity of his just proceedings in this matter, is candidly waved, because the Swedes, the Dutch, and the English, had previously dealt thus justly with the natives. It is in comparison with Pizarro and Cortes, that the colonists of all other nations in America appear to an advantage; but the fame of William Penn stands, and ever will stand, preëmi-

ment for unexceptionable justice and peace in his relations with the natives.

/ Penn had several meetings for conference and treaties with the Indians, besides those which he held for the purchase of lands. But unbroken and reverently cherished tradition, beyond all possibility of contradiction, has designated one Great Treaty, held under a large Elm Tree, at Shackamaxon, now Kensington, a treaty which Voltaire* justly characterizes as "never sworn to, and never broken." (In Penn's Letter to the Free Society of Traders,† dated August 16th, 1683, he refers to his conferences with the Indians. Two deeds, conveying land to him, are on record, both of which bear an earlier date than this letter, namely, June 23d, and July 14th, of the same year.‡ He had designed to make a purchase in May; but having been called off to a conference with Lord Baltimore, he postponed the business till June.) The Great Treaty was doubtless unconnected with the purchase of land, and was simply a treaty of

* Dictionnaire Philosophique, word *Quaker*.

† Proud and Clarkson.

‡ Smith's *Lands*, II. p. 110. Penn, in his Letter to the Lords' Committee of Plantations, says that the Bishop of London had counselled him to buy, and not to take away, the natives' land.

amity and friendship, in confirmation of one previously held, by Penn's direction, by Markham, on the same spot; that being a place which the Indians were wont to use for this purpose. It is probable that the treaty was held on the last of November, 1682; that the Delawares, the Mingoës, and other Susquehanna tribes, formed a large assembly on the occasion; that written minutes of the conference were made, and were in possession of Governor Gordon, who states nine conditions as belonging to them in 1728, but are now lost, and that the substance of the treaty is given in Penn's Letter to the Free Traders. These results are satisfactory, and are sufficiently corroborated by known facts and documents. The Great Treaty, being distinct from a land purchase, is significantly distinguished in history and tradition.*

The inventions of romance and imagination could scarcely gather around this engaging incident attractions surpassing its own simple

* "A Memoir on the History of the celebrated Treaty made by William Penn with the Indians, under the Elm Tree at Shackamaxon, in the Year 1682. By Peter S. Du Ponceau and J. Francis Fisher." *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, Vol. III. Pt. II. pp. 141-203. This is a model for all like efforts to clear the perplexities of history and tradition.

and impressive interest. (Doubtless Clarkson has given a fair representation of it, if we merely disconnect from his account the statement that the Indians were armed, and all that confounds the treaty of friendship with the purchase of lands.) Penn wore a sky blue sash of silk around his waist, as the most simple badge. The pledges there given were to hold their sanctity " while the creeks and rivers run, and while the sun, moon, and stars endure."

Whilst the whites preserved in written records the memory of such covenants, the Indians had their methods for perpetuating in safe channels their own relations. They cherished in grateful regard, they repeated to their children and to the whites, the terms of the Great Treaty. The Delawares called William Penn *Miquon*, in their own language, though they seem to have adopted the name given him by the Iroquois, *Onas*; both which terms signify a quill, or pen. Benjamin West's picture of the treaty is too imaginative for an historical piece. He makes Penn of a figure and aspect, which would become twice the years that had passed over his head. The elm tree was spared in the war of the American revolution, when there was distress for firewood, the British officer, Simcoe, having

placed a sentinel beneath it for protection. It was prostrated by the wind on the night of Saturday, March 3d, 1810. It was of gigantic size, and the circles around its heart indicated an age of nearly three centuries. A piece of it was sent to the Penn mansion at Stoke Pogeis, in England, where it is properly commemorated. A marble monument, with suitable inscriptions, was "placed by the Penn Society, A. D. 1827, to mark the site of the Great Elm Tree." Long may it stand.

Penn then made a visit to his manor of Pennsbury, up the Delaware. Under Markham's care, the grounds had been arranged, and a stately edifice of brick was in process of completion. The place had many natural beauties, and is said to have been arranged and decorated in consistency both with the office and the simple manners of the proprietor. There was a hall of audience for Indian embassies within, and luxurious gardens without. Hospitality had here a wide range, and Penn evidently designed it for a permanent abode.*

With the help of his surveyor, Thomas Holme, he laid out the plan of his now beau-

* The mansion fell into decay at an early period, on account of the leakage of a large reservoir on the roof, designed as a security against fire.

tiful city, and gave it its name of Christian signification, that brotherly love might pervade its dwellings. He purchased the land, where the city stands, of the Swedes, who already occupied it, and who had purchased it of the Indians, though it would seem that a subsequent purchase was made of the natives of the same site with adjacent territory some time afterwards, by Thomas Holme, acting as President of the Council, while Penn was in England.* The Schuylkill and the Delaware Rivers gave to the site eminent attractions. The plan was very simple, the streets running east and west being designated by numbers, those running north and south by the names of trees. Provision was made for large squares to be left open, and for common water privileges. The building was commenced at once, and carried on with great zeal.†

The survey was then extended over the country at large. The province and the terri-

* See a copy of the deed found at Harrisburg, bearing date July 30th, 1685, in *Memoirs of the Pennsylvania Historical Society*, Vol. III. Pt. II. p. 132.

† A description of the plan of Penn's new town is found in a place, where it would scarcely have been looked for, namely, in Dean Prideaux's *Connection of the Old and New Testament History*, Vol. I. p. 234, note. He compares the plan to that of ancient Babylon, though not intending to carry the parallel further.

teries were each divided into three counties, those of the province being named Philadelphia, Bucks, and Chester, those of the territories, New Castle, Kent, and Sussex. Divisions of townships and lots were then made; and with that consideration which Penn always exhibited, he reserved a thousand acres for George Fox and his heirs. From letters written by him about this time, it appears that the Governor was equally happy and busy. He enjoyed fine health, and found a pure delight in the invigorating labors of his hopeful and generous task.

The proper time having arrived, Penn issued his writs for the convening of the Assembly, to be held in Friends' Meeting-house, in Philadelphia, on the 10th of March, 1683. The people being busy, and no great political anxiety resting upon their minds, the required number of delegates did not appear; only eighteen members for the Council and fifty-four for the Assembly were present.* The Governor was

* By the suggestion and memorial of the Philosophical and Historical Societies, the state of Pennsylvania published, in two volumes, 8vo. in 1838, the "Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, from the Organization to the Termination of the Proprietary Government." These volumes contain also the original charter, the conditions or concessions, and the three frames of government.

informed of the reasons of this, and also that the number was thought sufficient in authority to answer all ends. But lest the failure to comply with the requisitions of the constitution, or charter, should deprive them of any of their rights, the members requested that it might be amended. By Penn's permission, a committee of each branch was chosen to draw up a new constitution, which was approved, signed, and sealed by him, on the 2d of April, 1683. By the new instrument, it was provided, that three members from each county, eighteen in all, should compose the Council, and that twice that number, though admitting of increase, should form the Assembly. The Council still retained its privilege of proposing and originating bills.* The treble vote allowed to the Governor in the first constitution does not appear in this, though the Minutes read as follows; "Consideration arising whether the Governor's three voices should stand in Provincial Council as by the old charter, the question was put, all ye that are willing that the last proposition should stand so as it is, say, *Yea*. The question being put twice, was carried in the affirmative."† After at-

* "The Frame of the Government," Article 5th.

† Minutes, &c. Vol. I. p. 16.

tending to many matters of interest in the colony, too trivial to bear repetition now, providing a seal for each county, and committing all due power to the Council, the Assembly was adjourned by Penn on the 3d of April.

Judicial proceedings were also instituted in March; a grand and petit jury having been formed. Penn and the Council sat as a court. Charles Pickering and Samuel Buckley, the first offenders, were found guilty of coining and passing base money. On the 26th of October, 1683, the former was sentenced to redeem all such coin as should be called in for a month, and to pay forty pounds towards the erection of a court-house, and the latter to pay ten pounds for the same purpose.* At this time, when the witchcraft delusion was universal, we read with interest a case which came before the judicious and benevolent Governor of Pennsylvania. On the 27th of February, 1684, Margaret, the wife of Neels Matson, was tried on the charges usually adduced against witches of more advanced years. She denied all the evidence alleged. The jury, having been charged by the Governor, "went forth, and, upon their return, brought her in guilty of having the common fame of a witch, but not guilty in

* Minutes of the Provincial Council, Vol. I. p. 33.

manner and form as she stands indicted.”* Recognizances of a hundred pounds were required for her good behavior for six months.

Penn took early care for the interests of education; for we find that, in December, 1683, Enoch Flower, of Philadelphia, who had been twenty years a schoolmaster in England, was employed in the same work at reasonable charges.†

The Governor was occupied at the council board with the affairs of the colony and of individuals; but he improved every interval of adjournment to acquaint himself with public and local interests, especially with the territory and the Indians. He undertook a general tour of exploration to learn the products and capacities of the country, and the habits of the natives, using all lawful endeavors to win their confidence. The results attained by his inquiries are given in the before mentioned letter to the committee of the Free Society of Traders in London, dated in Pennsylvania, August 16th, 1683.‡ It appears from this let-

* Minutes, &c. Vol. I. p. 41.

† Ibid. p. 36.

‡ Penn also wrote a letter to the King, dated Philadelphia, August 13th, 1683, and one to the Earl of Sunderland, dated July 28th, 1683; sending with each some presents of the country produce. The latter is filled with

ter, that he had learned from England reports that he had died, and died a Jesuit too. After denying both these reports, he proceeds to relate his kind reception in his province, and his entire satisfaction with it, to describe its climate, advantages, productions, and progress. His fond interest in the savages, whom he regards as the descendants of the ten tribes, appears in the admiration which he expresses for their language, the pains which he had taken to learn it, and the enthusiasm with which his heart was enlisted in their improvement.

During this his first visit to America, he made leagues with nineteen tribes or settlements of Indians, some of whom were within his domains, some bordering upon them. The frequent references, which Indian chiefs have made, almost down to our own day, to the guileless and benevolent Onas, show how deep within the hearts of his savage contemporaries he impressed the sense of his virtues, and how sacred a tradition they intrusted to their chil-

interesting particulars. Markham was the bearer. See *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, Vol. II. Pt. I. p. 241-247.

Still another letter of his, addressed to the Lord Keeper North, dated July 24th, and of much the same tenor as that to Sunderland, accompanied by presents, and borne by Markham, is in *Memoirs, &c.* Vol. I. Pt. II. p. 411.

dren. We learn enough to satisfy us that the same righteous policy, which he pursued, might have compassed the Continent and all its inhabitants. A law had been passed forbidding the whites in Pennsylvania to sell spirituous liquors to the Indians. The latter wished for liberty to purchase, though they abused, strong waters. They applied to Penn to remove the restriction. The Council having given him power to act, he called some of the Indians to him, and offered to withdraw the prohibition to sell liquors to them, if they, on their part, would consent to receive the punishments inflicted on the whites for drunkenness. The Indians acceded to the terms.

The difficulty with Lord Baltimore, about the boundary, was a matter of vexation and expense to William Penn. They met in May, 1683, ten miles from New Castle; and, as both claimed the same tract south of the fortieth degree, and grounded the claim upon royal patents, they could not decide their dispute. It was an unsatisfactory meeting, and Penn does not scruple to impugn the fairness of his noble antagonist. Penn wrote to the Lords Commissioners of Plantations to state his case,*

* Proud, Vol. I. p. 267. Penn also wrote, on the 2d of February, 1684, to the Earl of Rochester, and on the 9th

on the 14th of August, 1683, Lord Baltimore having previously done the same. The latter sent his agent, Colonel Talbot, with a letter to Penn, which Penn answered; and while he was on a visit to New York, in September, 1683, Lord Baltimore had proposed to make a forcible entrance upon the lower counties. Hearing of this, on his return, Penn protested, by a letter written on the 4th of October, and called his Council together. An agent was then sent to Lord Baltimore, with a copy of Penn's former letter, to be put into his own hands. Colonel Talbot still insisting upon forcing possession, the Pennsylvania government issued a declaration of their rights. It was evident that the dispute must be referred directly to the monarch, and settled, if settled at all, by him. Penn therefore resolved to return to England. Another consideration, which moved him to this step, whether of greater or less importance in his own mind, was a feeling of obligation to interpose in behalf of his fellow-Quakers, who were then suffering the heaviest inflictions of persecution in the courts and prisons of England. He knew he could do more for

of February, 1684, to the Marquis of Halifax, some particulars of his controversy with Lord Baltimore. The letters are in the *Memoirs of Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, Vol. I. Pt. II. p. 414 - 422.

their relief, than any other fellow-subject. He wished also to meet and answer the calumnies of his enemies.

Penn visited New York and New Jersey, and had many preparations to make before he could embark. The General Assembly met at New Castle, on the 10th of May, 1684, and despatched some business. Besides taking his part in this, he preached at various meetings for worship, he settled religious discipline among Friends in Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, he formed treaties and increased his acquaintance with the Indians, and quieted many local disputes about lots and river privileges. He made arrangements for the government while he should be absent, intrusting it to the Council, with Thomas Lloyd, a Quaker minister from Wales, as president, and he provided for other matters, civil and judicial. He sat in council at Sussex, on the 14th of August, 1684, and soon after embarked on board the ketch Endeavor for England. Before sailing, he wrote a letter of farewell counsels, affectionate and wise, to be read at Friends' meetings, of which we learn, by a letter of his to the wife of George Fox, that there were, at this time, eighteen in the province.

He had witnessed high prosperity, and the promises of yet greater all around him, be-

neath the gentle influences of his government. He had, for the most part, industrious, pure, and religious men and women for his helpers. When he returned to England, there were about seven thousand people and three hundred houses on his patent.

CHAPTER IX.

Penn arrives in England. — He intercedes for the Quakers. — James the Second. — Penn's Court Influence. — Calumnies against him. — Intercedes for Locke. — Correspondence with Tillotson. — Travels on the Continent. — Interviews with the Prince of Orange. — Burnet. — Penn's Ministry in England. — Oxford. — Writings. — Penn's Vindication. — Letter to Popple. — The Revolution. — Penn's repeated Arrests, Examinations, and Acquittals. — Seeks Retirement. — His Troubles. — Deprived of his Government.

PENN arrived in England on the 6th of October, 1684, finding happiness in the health of his family and the welcome of many friends. He went at once to the King and the Duke,

about his own pressing concerns, and to intercede for his suffering fellow-believers. He was successful in bringing his difficulties with Lord Baltimore to a temporary settlement, though, as the event proved, it was only temporary, the decision of a boundary question being then beset with geographical as well as personal obstacles. The Committee of Plantations, after a full hearing of the parties, divided the territory in dispute into two parts, giving to Lord Baltimore the part upon the Chesapeake, and allowing the remainder to relapse to the crown, though intended for Penn.*

The long period, which now elapsed before the Governor was permitted to visit his colony again, was one of strange public agitation; and Penn's fortunes present a fair representation of the varying states of the kingdom at large. Between the summit of court favor and repeated imprisonments as a suspected traitor, he was led through as remarkable a train of vicissitudes as ever checkered the lot of any public man who escaped a scaffold.

The brief limits of this biography will not allow of much detail, but must embrace here

* A Memoir of the whole controversy between Penn and Lord Baltimore, and their heirs, is given in *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, Vol. I. p. 159-196, by James Dunlop.

a sketch of Penn's experience in Europe, reserving the affairs of Pennsylvania for subsequent notice.

Penn pleaded successfully with the King in behalf of his persecuted brethren, and he obtained the promise of entire relief for them at an early period. He met the malicious charges of his enemies, and seemed to have the prospect of a felicitous result in his various undertakings. The death of Charles the Second, on the 6th of February, 1685, of which Penn gives some curious particulars, in a letter to Thomas Lloyd,* so far as it affected his interests at all, seemed to advance them. James the Second, who ascended the throne, had been the pupil of his father, and was his own pledged friend. Penn took lodgings at Kensington, to be near the court, where he was constant in his attendance. His influence was such, that, at times, two hundred persons are said to have been in waiting at his gate, to ask his intercession in their behalf.

Until very recently, the admirers and apologists of William Penn have felt bound to account for and excuse his intimacy and influence with the Popish James, as if the bare fact, that the liberal Protestant dissenter, the

* In Proud and Clarkson

advocate of entire freedom of conscience, should have admittance to the privacy and counsels of a most arbitrary monarch, was enough to throw suspicion upon his integrity. But the full light, which has now been cast upon the tortuous policy and the corrupt designs of that court, has displayed the unstained sincerity and the singleness of heart of William Penn. He knew that the King was a Roman Catholic; but he thought he might be taught liberality, and he used all his influence to plead for the liberty of all. The charge against Penn, spoken in his own ears by friends and foes, and reiterated from the pages of Burnet and others ever since, is, that for the sake of securing indulgence for the Quakers, he approved the arbitrary and illegal proceedings of the monarch in usurping the power of Parliament. That monarch aimed to remove all penalties from the Roman Catholics; he could gain his end only by including them under the general title of dissenters, and then extending over them all the large mantle of a Stuart prerogative. But most of the Protestant dissenters were as much opposed to the relief of the Roman Catholics, as were the members of the Established Church of England.

Hence arose the enmity against Penn, which, when spoken in the form of accusations, con-

demned him from some lips for treason against the state, and from others for being a Jesuit in disguise, plotting with the monarch against the Protestant religion. A calmer and wiser judgment has discovered that there was room for an honest man even in those times, and that William Penn occupied it with a calm courage and a good conscience. There were private reasons to explain his private intimacy with the monarch ; but his worst enemy could detect no instance in which he used his influence for corrupt, or even for personal ends. Yet all the influence, which he had with James, was, at the time, to his public disrepute. He was suspected by the most honest, and was openly calumniated by the malicious. The master mind of Sir James Mackintosh has unravelled some of the intricacies of that period, has painted the scenes then acted, and has studied the motives and methods of each mover in them. That eminent moralist and statesman has awarded to Penn the most honorable distinctions of purity and magnanimity, which his fondest friend could ask.

A paragraph from this writer may be here copied as sufficient to explain Penn's position, while it substantiates his integrity. After having spoken of William Penn as "a man of such virtue as to make his testimony weighty,"

Sir James Mackintosh says, "The very occupations in which he was engaged brought daily before his mind the general evils of intolerance, and the sufferings of his own unfortunate brethren. Though well stored with useful and ornamental knowledge, he was unpractised in the wiles of courts; and his education had not trained him to dread the violation of principle, so much as to pity the infliction of suffering. It cannot be doubted that he believed the King's object to be universal liberty in religion, and nothing further; and as his own sincere piety taught him to consider religious liberty as unspeakably the highest of human privileges, he was too just not to be desirous of bestowing on all other men that which he most earnestly sought for himself. One, who refused to employ force in the most just defence, must have felt a singular abhorrence of its exertion to prevent good men from following the dictates of their conscience. Such seem to have been the motives, which induced this excellent man to lend himself to the measures of the King. Compassion, friendship, liberality, and toleration, led him to support a system, [meaning the encroachments of the royal prerogative,] the success of which would have undone his country; and he afforded a remarkable proof, that,

in the complicated combinations of political morality, a virtue misplaced may produce as much immediate mischief as a vice."*

Penn first exercised his benevolent spirit with the King by interceding for his college companion, John Locke, who had followed Shaftesbury in his forced exile into Holland, after losing his fellowship in Christ Church, Oxford. He obtained permission for Locke to return; but the philosopher would not so far allow his criminality, as to receive a pardon.

Popular rumor designated Penn as a Papist and a Jesuit. Some verses, condoling the late King's death, and congratulating the accession of his brother, were circulated with the initials of William Penn attached to them, and were ascribed to him, in connection with a foolish report of his attending mass. This led him, in April, 1685, to write from Worminghurst, and to publish a sheet, entitled "Fiction found out," addressed to the members of his religious society, to rebut the idle charge. He also had a pleasant and effective correspondence with his friend Dr. Tillotson, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, who, having dropped some suspicious remark about Penn's Popery,

* Review of the Causes of the Revolution of 1688. *Miscellaneous Works*, American edition, p. 334.

was kindly addressed by the Quaker, as one whom he esteemed "the first of his robe." He gave satisfaction to Dr. Tillotson, together with sufficient authority for denying the rumor to others. That eminent divine, after expressing his regret for a temporary alienation, provided Penn, in the closing letter, with a sort of affidavit, which would prove satisfactory to any reasonable man, and the friends renewed their visits. The curious reader, who may peruse the correspondence, will observe that Penn, in the exercise of a courtesy which he never found to be inconsistent with his peculiar views, uses circumlocutions to avoid the *thee* and *thou* in addressing Tillotson.

Penn has been impugned for being a spectator of the execution of the excellent Mrs. Gaunt, who suffered for an act of benevolence in harboring one of Monmouth's rebels. His motives for witnessing a scene, which he could not prevent, were doubtless such as have led many wise and good men to watch and study such spectacles.

Penn was at this time concerned in a transaction, which, without further knowledge of the particulars, we cannot but regard as somewhat discreditable to him. Some young women of Taunton had presented a stand of colors and a Bible to the Duke of Monmouth. While

some, who had been directly or indirectly concerned in that rebellion, paid the heaviest penalties, it was found a lucrative business to clear others by fines. These Taunton sympathizers were allowed such a relief, and the maids of honor, who were to receive the money, were of course interested to swell the amount. Penn was an agent between these parties, and received instructions from the maids of honor, "to make the most advantageous composition he could in their behalf."* Doubtless toleration, lenity, and the desire to save life, interested Penn in an agency from which he reaped no personal advantage.

In 1686, he published "A Further Account of Pennsylvania," extending his previous publication, with the results of his own inquiries and observations. He resumed likewise a work, which he can scarcely be said to have ever discontinued, namely, writing in defence of religious liberty. The Duke of Buckingham had published a book in support of liberty of conscience. An anonymous reviewer had embraced a reflection upon Penn, in an attack upon this book, saying of the Duke,

* Lord Sunderland to William Penn, 13th of February 1686; State Paper Office. Quoted and cited by Mackintosh.

that "the Pennsylvanian had entered him with his Quakeristical doctrines." This led Penn to publish "A Defence of the Duke of Buckingham's Book from the Exceptions of a nameless Author," and, immediately after, "A Persuasive to Moderation to dissenting Christians, in Prudence and Conscience, humbly submitted to the King and his great Council." In this work, as in others before it, Penn, with great learning and with good logic, met the objections to complete toleration, and illustrated from history, reason, and sound justice, its good effects in ancient and modern times. However much or little influence these treatises may have had on the court, they were soon followed by a proclamation from the King and Council for the release of those imprisoned on account of religion. The chief desire of the King, doubtless, was to relieve the Roman Catholics; but the only method, and that too an unlawful one, by which he could do this, eased all other dissenters. Twelve hundred Quakers were among the large number, who shared the benefits of this proclamation.

William Penn, being about to start upon a continental tour in the exercise of his ministry, was commissioned, incidentally, by the King, to confer with the Prince of Orange, at the Hague, and to induce him to favor a gen-

eral toleration in England, with a removal of all religious tests. Burnet was there, at the same time, using his influence to retain the tests. Here Penn had several interviews with the Prince and Burnet, but could not succeed, as he found his royal listener more earnest for Protestantism than for liberty. Even Burnet, as his readers well know, regarded Penn as a suspicious man, intriguing and conniving with James solely for the benefit of the Roman Catholics. But Penn honestly regarded the King as a friend to entire liberty in religion; and only in that belief did he act with him and for him. Penn used his interest successfully to obtain a permission to return to England for the exiled Presbyterians and other fugitives, Scotch and English, at the Hague, who had opposed the illegal act of indulgence. He then extended his tour over Holland and Germany, making acquaintance with William Sewell, the historian of the Quakers; and, returning to England, he pursued the same ministerial work over the counties adjoining his own.

In April, 1687, the King followed his proclamation by a declaration of liberty of conscience to all, which removed all tests and penalties. This declaration the monarch made on his own responsibility, though he promised to

have it legalized by an early call of a Parliament, and also to protect the legal rights of the Church of England. Mackintosh says of this bold act of the monarch, "There is no other example, perhaps, of so excellent an object being pursued by means so culpable, or for purposes in which evil was so much blended with good."

The Quakers rejoiced in an edict, which brought them relief from the most aggravating burdens and inflictions. Having no principle which forbade them to share a blessing in common with Papists and all others, they drew up an address to the King, at their yearly meeting, which Penn presented with a speech of his own. The King, in his answer professed a sincere attachment to the great full principle of religious toleration. The Episcopalians, and the bodies of Protestant dissenters, with few exceptions, were outraged at this merciful, though illegal edict of the monarch, and visited their indignation upon the Papists and Quakers alike.

Penn then undertook another ministerial tour in England, in the course of which he frequently met with King James, on his progresses, and was flattered, if susceptible to flattery, (and perhaps he was as a man, though not as a Quaker,) by having the monarch sev-

eral times as a listener or worshipper at the meetings in which he preached. Yet, while they were thus meeting in their travels, Penn went to Oxford, while James was there, and, by a plain letter to the King, resisted his arbitrary attempts to place Parker, Bishop of Oxford, who from an Independent had become a Roman Catholic, over Magdalen College, and to remove the fellows who negatived and thwarted this purpose.

It is not among the least remarkable of the changeful experiences of Penn's life, that the learned academicians, from whose society he had been ejected as a young heretic, did not scruple to send a committee to him to implore his intercession with the King in their behalf. He had interviews and correspondence with their delegates, but he could not bend the will of the King in this matter; and his disappointed applicants joined in the suspicion, that he secretly justified and abetted the arbitrary proceedings of the monarch. He certainly did give the whole weight of his influence in favor of the King's declaration of indulgence, which was almost universally regarded as a covert attempt to promote Popery. Thus the popular feeling against Penn became rancorous. This was further embittered by a publication, which, for the sake of relieving it from the

prejudice attached to his name, he published anonymously, entitled "Good Advice to the Church of England; and Roman Catholic and Protestant Dissenters; in which it is endeavored to be made appear, that it is their Duty, Principle, and Interest, to abolish the penal Laws and Tests." This he followed by "The Great and Popular Objection against the Repeal of the Penal Laws briefly stated and considered." Reason, arguments, and evidence are adduced, and well nigh exhausted in these works, to prove what is now a self-evident proposition, though it was then obscured by passion and policy, as well as by popular error and mistaken wisdom.

The renewal of the King's Declaration of Indulgence, and an order of Council that it should be read in churches, though a promise was given that Parliament should speedily be called to ratify it, concentrated the opposition from all quarters, and brought it to decisive action. The Archbishop of Canterbury, with six of the Bishops, came before the King with a protest in the shape of a petition, and were imprisoned. Penn was even supposed to have advised the harsh measure against them. His anonymous authorship was known and charged upon him, as well as his mission to the Hague. Indeed, he was identified with the monarch;

nor can we see how it could have been otherwise, for popular indignation ofttimes has not such distinct shadows from which to construct substances. Great popular clamor ensued; the Episcopalians and the mass of Protestant dissenters were equally outraged, and the Papists meanwhile freely spoke their hopes.

William Popple, secretary to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, wrote a long letter to Penn, who was his intimate friend, to obtain from him an explicit denial of the charges of having been educated at St. Omer's, of having received orders at Rome, of officiating as priest at Whitehall, in the mass, with a dispensation allowing him to be married, and like absurd accusations. Penn, in a letter dated October 24th, 1688, answered Mr. Popple at length; and in a most admirable and gentle spirit, with beauty and force of language, he gives all these charges a thorough and well proved denial; only a man with a clean breast could have written his reply.

In the next month, the political aspect was wholly changed. William of Orange came to Eng'and, and James fled to France. The revolution brought real danger to Penn, and he would not so far allow suspicion as to escape from it by returning to his American

province. He was at once called before the Council, on the 10th of December, 1688, and, after protesting his innocence in all his conduct through the late reign, he entered into bonds for his appearance at the next term. He appeared again at the Easter term, in 1689, and, as no person or evidence confronted him, he was discharged. He rejoiced over the Toleration Act, which was now passed. And who had better reason to rejoice? Who more than he, among the living or the dead, then had done more to secure that measure, which was not, even in its full meaning, so much as the first syllable of justice?

For a brief interval after his discharge, Penn was comparatively at liberty to go to America, without subjecting himself to increased suspicion. The tidings thence, as we shall soon see, had not been of the most agreeable kind to the proprietor; but he delayed going, that he might watch the operation of an experiment, which he was trying there. Yet he was doomed to defer his second visit much longer than he desired. A friendly letter to him from the exiled James, requesting him to come and see him in France, was intercepted. Penn was arrested in consequence, and, being brought before the Council, he requested that he might have a hearing in

presence of King William. His request was granted. He stood a long examination, protesting his entire innocence, expressing his love for James, though he did not approve his policy, and alleging that he could not prevent the exiled monarch from writing to him if he saw fit. William, being satisfied of Penn's entire innocence of all traitorous designs, was willing to release him from all restraint; but, some of the Council advising more caution, he again gave bail for his appearance. He then resumed his preparations for America, and while pursuing them, the time came for him to answer to his recognizances. No one appearing against him, he was again discharged.

Wearied with five years of painful and harassing conflict against oppression in one or another form, Penn would at this time have gladly sought repose in his colony; but other trials awaited him. The friends of James kept the nation, and indeed all Christian Europe, in a ferment. The French fleet was in the Channel; William was in Ireland. The Queen called on the militia, and issued a proclamation, on the 18th of July, 1690, bearing the names of certain alleged conspirators, including Penn. He was apprehended and imprisoned. At Michaelmas term, he was carried before the Court of King's Bench, tried, and

acquitted. He now determined to leave England behind him, at least till more quiet times. It was extremely important, at this juncture, that he should be in Pennsylvania, which was distracted by misgovernment. The vessels prepared by him, with more passengers, were ready to sail; a government convoy was engaged; Penn staid to watch the dying hours of George Fox, to write a letter of Christian sympathy to the widow, and to bear testimony, in public meeting, to the honored and faithful life of his friend.

That arrant impostor, William Fuller, who was soon afterwards unmasked and committed to the pillory in his true character, had made oath against Penn as a traitor. He was to have been arrested on the 16th of January, 1691, while at the funeral of George Fox; but the officers were too late by an hour. Not feeling bound to subject himself to the discomfort and annoyance of a third public prosecution on the same false charge, nor to surrender himself voluntarily to bear testimony to his innocence, as he would have done in anything that concerned his religion, Penn avoided public view, and took a private and retired lodging in London. He would not flee from justice, neither would he court another arrest. He kept himself ready to be found by

those who might seek him. The vessels sailed, bearing letters and directions from him to Pennsylvania.

Another proclamation, founded on Fuller's charge, was issued against him in 1691, as having conspired with others to bring over James from France to his throne. This was the darkest period of life to this pure and devoted Christian man. All his former friends, exalted and humble, with but few exceptions, seemed to turn against him. Even the members of his religious Society, who had received from him services greater than from any other man, were alienated from him and suspected him. He wrote a gentle but earnest letter to their Yearly Meeting, on the 30th of May, 1691, to clear himself in their eyes. Locke, now in prosperity again, offered to reciprocate the favor which Penn had essayed to perform for him in obtaining a pardon. It is remarkable that Penn, in his own way, returned substantially the same answer which he had received from Locke; he would not accept a pardon for that of which he was innocent.

While Penn was thus in forced retirement, he was cheered by the visits of a few faithful friends, whose confidence no popular clamor and no temporary distrust could weaken. He employed himself laboriously with his pen, and,

besides writing prefaces to the works of Robert Barclay, one of his former associates in the management of Jersey, and of John Burnyeat, he likewise published a small work, "Just Measures, being an Epistle of Peace and Love to such Professors of Truth, as are under Dissatisfaction about the Order practised in the Church of Christ." This treatise was designed to restore harmony in his Society, and to vindicate the right and liberty of its female members to have meetings by themselves for some business. A periodical, called "The Athenian Mercury," had attacked the principles of the Quakers, and Penn, still in retirement, replied, in 1692, in his work, "The New Athenians no noble Bereans." To these fruits of his more retired years is to be added yet another controversial and explanatory treatise, in answer to some perversions of his views by the Baptists, entitled "A Key, opening the Way to every Capacity how to distinguish the Religion professed by the People called Quakers from the Perversions and Misrepresentations of their Adversaries; with a brief Exhortation to all Sorts of People to examine their Ways and their Hearts, and turn speedily to the Lord."

The letters which he wrote at this period, so far as several of them still preserved would

indicate, show how a manly and Christian heart supported him under his trials.* In two letters to Lord Romney, and one to Lord Rochester, intended for the King's eye, he asserts his entire innocence of deed, word, and wish, in reference to all charges of which he was accused. There is expressed in them a conscious dignity of soul, which is not only a guaranty of innocence, but a preventive of the use of such means of vindicating it as some of less magnanimity would feel free to employ.

To the unavoidable anxiety, which his situation must have occasioned to him, was now added the dangerous illness of his wife, the love of his youth, and the attached sharer of his religious views, and of his devoted efforts for the welfare of others. It would seem that he was separated from her, as she was then in the country.

Thus beset with various and oppressive trials, and greatly embarrassed in his pecuniary affairs, and while longing for an honorable delivery, that he might go to America, or attend upon his wife, sinking in a decline, such rep-

* Four letters, written by Penn at this time, may be found in the *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, Vol. IV. Pt. I. pp. 192-200.

representations of the disordered state of the colony were brought to England, as, aggravated by enemies, led to an act of great injustice toward Penn. He was deprived of his government, without having an opportunity to withstand the measure.

CHAPTER X.

Pennsylvania during the Absence of the Proprietor. — Vice and Dissensions. — Penn's Letters. — Changes in the Government. — Deputy-Governor Blackwell. — Lloyd and Markham. — Sedition in the Territories. — Religious Dissensions. — George Keith. — Penn's Troubles. — His Labors for his Province when deprived of it. — Governor Fletcher appointed. — He demands military Supplies. — Penn liberated. — His Wife dies. — He is reinstated. — His second Marriage. — His Son dies. — Ministry. — Embarks again for America.

IMMEDIATELY after Penn's arrival in England after leaving his colony in 1684, the information which he received from it in private letters gave him anxiety. It had indeed the

elements of high prosperity, and he knew that men of integrity, devoted to his interests, were there to sustain the right. A colony of Germans had given the name of Germantown to a thriving settlement, which they had founded near Philadelphia, in 1685-6, and vessels continually arrived to reinforce the older plantations. But vice already had its agents and temptations among a people, who, generally speaking, were probably the most sober, industrious, and virtuous community ever gathered on earth. By letters, which passed between Penn and his correspondents, it appears that the caves on the river's bank, which the first settlers had scooped out and defended with boughs for temporary shelter, had become places of lewdness and intemperance, and that tippling houses were numerous. In a spirit of earnest expostulation, the proprietor wrote that these alarming evils should be at once withstood, and he at the same time rebuked the extortions in the sale of lands, and the excesses of his surveyor, Holme, who had charged upon purchasers some expensive drinking festivals.

But more general causes of trouble soon appeared. The different branches of government did not harmonize with each other, nor with the judiciary. There were, indeed, some

irreconcilable elements in the composition of the population itself, which led to some collision between the natural tempers and the supposed rights of the Quakers on the one hand, and the Dutch and Swedes on the other. Nicholas Moore, President of the Free Society of Traders, a member of the Council and of the Assembly, and also Chief Justice, was impeached by the Council, on the 15th of May, 1685. He was accused of various high crimes and misdemeanors, under eleven specifications.* No moral charge is embraced in them; but he seems to have been passionate, and to have resisted the alterations and measures proposed in the Council. He was not a Quaker. Patrick Robinson, clerk of the Provincial Court, was ordered to produce the records of that tribunal in proof of the charges against Moore. This he refused to do, and was imprisoned, while Moore was expelled from the Assembly, and, declining to answer to the summons of the Council, was driven from his seat as judge.

Penn, on receiving this disagreeable information, wrote over, counselling moderation and forbearance. He complained, too, of great injustice done to himself, his supply and his quit-

* The accusations against Moore are given at length in *Minutes of the Council*, Vol. I. pp. 84, 85.

rents being withheld. He had already lost by the colony more than six thousand pounds, and was too much embarrassed to be able to visit it. Being satisfied that the Provincial Council was too large, and its members too irregular in their attendance, for an effective executive body, he appointed, in its stead, five commissioners as the executive. Nicholas Moore was one of these, making it evident that the proprietor had not lost his confidence in him. The instructions* to the commissioners, dated February, 1687, give them the executive power, in place of the Council, their doings to be subject to Penn's confirmation. They demand order and regularity in attendance, that all laws passed during his absence should be annulled, that the Assembly should be dismissed and then recalled, and that such of the above laws as were good should be reënacted. Thus the government consisted of three bodies, the Commissioners, the Council, and the Assembly.

Penn wrote again in June, instructing the commissioners to enforce the impost act, for the support of government. He had refused an export duty freely offered him by the Assembly, but, in 1684, had accepted a small duty on wines and spirituous liquors. He

* Given by Proud, Vol. I. p. 305.

complains of the neglect to furnish him with official information in attested and authoritative documents; and again, with tempered though positive expostulation, he refers to the deep sense of injury which he suffered in the withholding of all his dues, while his quit-rents, to which he was so honestly entitled, amounted to five hundred pounds a year. Thomas Lloyd, also, in whom he reposed much confidence, was weary of his office as president of the Council, and was anxious to resign it. Penn released him, though unwillingly.

In 1688, the proprietor reduced the number of commissioners from five to three, designing to have a Deputy-Governor and two assistants, and intending the former office for Thomas Lloyd. He, however, persisted in declining it, and Penn could find no Quaker qualified and willing to assume it. Through an interview which he had with the wife of Captain Thomas Blackwell, in England, Penn was induced to commit the trust to him. He was not a Friend, but had been treasurer of the Commonwealth's army, and, as such, much honored. He was in Boston when he received his commission and instructions from Penn, dated September 25th, 1688,* but went to Philadel-

* These are given in Proud, Vol. I. p. 339.

phia at the end of the year, and met the Assembly in May, 1689.

Penn hoped that Governor Blackwell would have great influence, and would exert it wisely and effectively. He instructed him to collect the quitrents, and gave him prudent directions about the laws, the roads, and other concerns. But the distractions, which already existed, continued. The great seal was refused to Blackwell, so that his laws could not be ratified; he was in constant collision with the other officers, and, as Penn tried in vain to appease the strife, he advised Blackwell to resign, which he did, and returned to England, after having governed but a few months. He was of gentlemanly, and perhaps of haughty manners, used to military methods, and probably very earnest in demanding the quitrents, and in pressing his authority. He therefore gave offence to the Quakers, and alienated others.

All these strifes contributed to weaken respect for the proprietor himself, as if an absent governor was to be blamed for all the mismanagement of his deputies, while he was the greatest sufferer. On the resignation of Blackwell, the executive reverted to the Council, and Lloyd resumed the presidency. Penn gave his approbation to this state of things,

and most earnestly advised conciliatory and peaceful measures. He directed Lloyd to set up a grammar school in Philadelphia; and accordingly the Friends' Public School was founded in 1689. George Keith, who soon became a source of infinite trouble in the colony, was then highly esteemed, and was its first master. Penn was compelled to remain in England, in retirement, at this juncture, when his presence in the colony was so much needed, and to exercise his influence by writing only.

A new and alarming difficulty, which had been long in preparation, now presented itself, in the form of a seditious movement on the part of the Territories, or the three Lower Counties. Though incorporated with the province under one government, the incongruous elements of population, prejudice, and interest could not be harmonized. The territories wished to have separate magistrates and officers, and to choose them for themselves. Their members in the Council met illegally, and undertook to legislate; but their work was undone. Great confusion ensued, and the councillors from the territories proposed a bill, authorizing six of their number, of nine, to appoint all their officers. This request, being submitted to Penn, offended him. He, how-

ever, offered to the province and territories their free choice of either of the three executive methods, which had been already tried, by council, commissioners, or deputy-governor. The province preferred a deputy-governor; but this was the least acceptable method to the territories, which objected to being burdened with his support. They preferred commissioners; but rather than the country should be without a government, they were willing to give the power to the Council, provided that no officers were imposed upon them without the consent of their members in it. Lloyd wrote to them that he, as deputy, would free them from all burden for his support. The territories could not be brought to terms with the province; and therefore Lloyd, on the 10th of May, 1691, assumed the government of the latter, and Markham, the secretary, took a corresponding office in the territories. Penn acquiesced with reluctance in this result, sending commissions accordingly, and wrote to Lloyd, expressing displeasure with him for being willing to accept half of a government. But the Council, in an official letter to the proprietary, wholly exculpated Lloyd from any blame in his proceedings. The two Deputies united in writing a letter to Penn, and the territories were so much pleased with hav-

ing their civil administration to themselves, that a good peace seemed to be purchased at the expense of a divided and ruptured government.

A new and most vexatious cause of disturbance now presented itself to divide the colony by a religious feud, as it had been divided by politics, only with tenfold more of acrimony. George Keith, who, for many years, had been a distinguished preacher and controversial writer among the Friends, a man of much learning, and of strong passions, brought about a schism in his Society, with all its disastrous consequences. He began by endeavoring to amend and make more rigid the discipline of the Society; and then he attacked some of its most eminent leaders with the charge of heresy in doctrine. He gave great offence by wearing his hat while a zealous preacher was at prayer, and by showing "a brittle temper" when opposed by any one. All the private and public conferences, which were designed by the most gentle means to curb his spirit and address his better feelings, were ineffectual, and resulted only in giving him opportunities to draw a party to his side. It would be difficult now to form a perfectly fair opinion about the merits of the schism; but Keith had several supporters among Friends of the highest standing,

whom, however, he soon lost, though, even after his ejection from the Society, he had a crowded meeting of his own. He opposed the exercise of force in civil government; and, from objecting to the arrest of a pirate, he proceeded to libel the magistrates in print, for which offence he was tried and fined. After much disputation, he was disowned by Friends, at a meeting on the 20th of June, 1692, who, in their testimony against him, after referring to their "tedious exercise, and vexatious perplexity," make out a very clear case against him. Their act was confirmed by the Yearly Meeting, in the following September. Keith then appealed to the General Meeting, at London, and Penn, until more fully informed, was inclined to his side; but there the proceedings against him were ratified. He then obtained ordination, as an Episcopal clergyman, from the Bishop of London, and after preaching a while in England, with especial zeal, against the Quakers, he came to this country as a missionary of the Society for propagating the Gospel among the Indians. Being much slighted, and little favored, he returned to England, where he continued to preach in the Church until he died.

All these religious and civil distractions in the colony were repeated with aggravations in

England Penn's enemies about the court made the most of them to the King, and adduced them as evidences that Penn was wholly unfit to govern, and that the colony would be ruined without some decisive interference of his Majesty. Penn himself had foreseen the result, and, in his letters to his colony, had repeatedly and expressly predicted it. Pressed by the facts, and the misrepresentations, which were urged upon them, and without giving Penn a just hearing, the King and Queen, by commission, dated October 21st, 1692, directed Benjamin Fletcher, Governor of New York, to take upon him the administration of Pennsylvania and the territories. Thus Penn, though retaining his proprietary rights, was deprived of all his authority. He, however, wrote to Fletcher, who was under many obligations to him, cautioning him, and almost protesting, against his exercise of the government.

This was certainly a most disastrous and trying period in the life of William Penn, comprehending the various calamities, from which heart and mind alike shrink back in dismay or gloom. So indeed it is, and ever has been, with most men, that, in the experience of such trials, they are overwhelmed, unless sustained by an inward peace, which never

forsakes them, and still guided by an aim, which never fades in dimness from their faith. Penn, yet in retirement, might mourn over a blighted hope, a broken design, a lost province, a dishonored name, and a dying wife at a distance from him. George Keith, his former bosom friend and travelling companion, was now his bitter enemy. Many of the most influential and cherished members of his own religious Society had grown cold in their attachment to him, and passed reflections upon him, not because they credited the idle story of his being a Papist, but because they thought he had long taken a more active and exciting part in the distractions of politics, than became an humble Christian man. The rich resources of his character are shown in the calm faith, and the self-control, and the good hopes, with which he met his reverses.

The King seems to have been favorably disposed to Penn; but his advisers chose to retain their suspicions, and to receive inimical reports from abroad and at home. No attempt was made to arrest him, though he might have been readily found. He did not confine himself to his lodgings, but rather avoided public notice. He seems to have been regarded as a prisoner at large, within such limits as admitted of his seizure, should any definite

charge arise from the general suspicion which attached to him.

But though he could not govern Pennsylvania, he might still befriend it; and he determined upon returning thither, that he might aid in preserving its constitution, and in advancing the plans, which he had designed for it. His great outlays, without an income from them, had embarrassed him. He therefore wrote to some of his friends, asking them to find a hundred persons in the colony, each of whom would lend him a hundred pounds for four years, without interest, on his own bond, promising to bring over his family. But his request was not met. He employed these saddened hours in labors of the pen. The fruits of a rich experience, of much knowledge of his own heart and of other men, and of a very extended observation, are admirably expressed in a little book written by him in 1693, entitled "Some Fruits of Solitude in Reflections and Maxims relating to the Conduct of Human Life." In the same year he published "An Essay towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe." In this Essay, which is of a thoroughly practical character, he comprehended nearly all that has since been written of the folly of war, and the methods and blessings of peace, while he seems to have

been the first to propose a congress of nations for the settlement of disputes and quarrels.

Glancing, meanwhile, at the affairs of Pennsylvania, we find that the people had reason to regret the absence and misfortunes of their true friend. Governor Fletcher amazed them by entering upon his administration in April, 1693, with the pomp of a military retinue; he offended them by calling the Assembly, not as the charter appointed, but according to the form which he used in New York; and he drew from them a protest by pressing oaths and tests. He yielded to them on some points, though, by alleging that he did it only through favor, he greatly displeased the people, who thought that they retained all their privileges as guaranteed to them by the charter which brought them to America.

The Governor, though allowing for the scruples of a large portion of the inhabitants of the province and territories, wished them to grant a supply, not for war, but for an incident of it, to help in protecting Albany from the French. He showed a message to that effect from the Queen, which seemed to require all the colonies to help in the defence of the frontiers. The Assembly, postponing action upon this demand, withheld the supply till, by pro-

tests and altercation, they had made their compliance a condition of the approval by the Governor of the bills which they passed. They at last voted a tax, amounting to seven hundred and sixty pounds sixteen shillings and two pence; stipulating, however, that half of it should be a present to the Governor, and the other half a gift to the crown. The Governor then approved the bills, dissolved the Assembly at its own request, and returned in the winter to New York, leaving William Markham as his deputy. Fletcher visited Philadelphia again in May, 1694, and called the Assembly in a legal way. With much adroitness, he attempted to obtain more money, not directly for war, but to support, and clothe, and relieve the Indians, who were to fight, or to suffer from fighting. The Assembly refused to comply. Another session, in September, saw the same method renewed; and this completed the administration of Governor Fletcher, for the fortunes of Penn revived.

Honorable feelings and simple justice could not longer allow such wrong to be done to the lawful Governor of Pennsylvania. Powerful friends, whose esteem he had not lost, among whom were Locke, Tillotson, and Popple, the Duke of Buckingham, and the Lords Somers, Rochester, Ranelagh, and Sydney, interceded in

his behalf with the King, and vouched his whole life of unexceptionable and unstained integrity. King William said he had nothing against Penn, and that he was a free man to come and go at his pleasure. Lord Sydney pressed the King to signify this to Penn, through the Secretary of State. This was done in November, 1693. But Penn, being desirous of a more public and satisfactory release, was heard before the Council, and honorably acquitted.* His satisfaction at this result was overcast by the domestic affliction, which he saw was at hand. His wife, a woman of eminent merits, and widely beloved by others, as she was tenderly dear to him, had long been in a decline. She participated in his satisfaction for his honorable discharge, and his freedom was at once devoted to her. He watched over her, and shared the comforts of her resignation and faith till she died, on the 23d of February, 1694. He then bore testimony to her virtuous life and her Christian death, in "An Account of the blessed End of my dear Wife, Gulielma Maria Penn."

A congenial and comforting employment, at the time of his severe bereavement, was found

* Particulars are given in a letter of Penn, in Proud, Vol. I. p. 401.

by William Penn, in writing, as a preface to the Journal of George Fox, "An Account of the Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers, in which their fundamental Principles, Doctrines, Worship, Ministry, and Discipline are plainly declared." Of course the most engaging portion of this preface is that which concerns Fox himself. Penn had also become much interested in the Jewish people, and, for the sake of winning them to the Christian faith, he published, this year, "A Visitation to the Jews." He likewise published an account of his travels through Holland and Germany, in 1667. He had the satisfaction, too, of being restored to a full and warm regard by the members of his religious Society, who seemed now to value him for what he really was.

Penn had sent a respectful petition to the King, that his government might once more be confided to him. The request was fairly considered, and was successful, for it appeared to be but just. The instrument, which was signed on the 20th of August, 1694, was all the more acceptable, because it alleged that the disorder and confusion into which his colony had fallen had arisen from his necessary absence. He sent a commission to William Markham as his deputy, on the 24th of No-

vember, 1694, and closed the year by a ministerial tour in England.

Penn's purpose now was to return to his colony at once, but various occupations and duties still interposed. In 1695, renewing the work of controversy, he published "A Reply to a pretended Answer, by a nameless Author, to William Penn's Key." This work, elucidating and confirming a previous one, contains also a vindication of his own consistency. He appeared before the House of Commons with the Quakers' Petition, that their affirmations might pass for oaths. The petition was brief, but significant and forcible, alleging their strict conscientiousness, their much suffering for it, and their readiness to meet the punishment of perjury for falsehood. Penn made another religious tour in England, preaching and disputing abundantly and effectively.

On the 5th of March, 1696, he formed a second connection by marrying Hannah Callowhill, daughter and granddaughter of Quakers, and possessed of traits of character which he most esteemed. But his new prospects were again clouded by another terrible affliction. His eldest son, Springett, a young man very dear to his father for his virtues and promise, and for his entire religious sympathy, died of consumption, on the 10th of April, in

his twenty-first year. This was a loss which Penn might feel would never be restored in either of his other children. He wrote and published a pathetic account of the sickness and death of this young man, which readers may peruse with all the more satisfaction, as the father was not one to exaggerate in such a matter.

The fruit of his meditations and labors at this period he published in a work entitled, "Primitive Christianity revived in the Faith and Practice of the People called Quakers, written in Testimony to the present Dispensation of God through them to the World, that Prejudices may be removed, the Simple informed, the Well-inclined encouraged, and Truth and its innocent Friends rightly represented." In these successive treatises or expositions of faith, the system which Penn adopted in his early years is expanded and defined. Being made more clear and self-consistent, it became somewhat more conformed to other systems, and more in harmony with perfect truth. He also took an active part in the controversy with the schismatic Keith, and in a pamphlet, called "More Work for George Keith," he quoted and turned against him some of his own previous defences of that faith which he now maligned.

Penn waited upon Peter the Great, of Russia, while in London, and endeavored to interest him in the views of the Quakers, by conversing with him in High Dutch, and by giving him the books of the Society. The czar was so much won to his zealous teacher, as to attend some Quaker meetings in England, and afterwards on the Continent.

Penn took a temporary residence in Bristol, in 1697, probably with reference to commercial and mercantile business, though he attended meetings, and accompanied the preachers of the Society around the neighborhood. True always to the great cause of entire liberty of conscience in religion, he, this year, published "A Caution humbly offered about passing the Bill against Blasphemy." This was directed against a bill then before the House of Lords, which made a denial of the doctrine of the Trinity to be blasphemy by construction. It was for this that Penn opposed it. The bill was dropped.

In 1698, before completing his measures towards reëmbarking for his colony, Penn made a visit to Ireland, to preach, and look after his estate there. The preaching seems to have prevailed over the business. He attended all the regular and many occasional meetings of Friends, and was an honored and most im-

pressive advocate of his high views. Crowds flocked every where to hear him. While in Dublin, he published "The Quaker a Christian," in answer to a pamphlet by one Plympton, with whom he had had a dispute, entitled "A Quaker no Christian." He sent an epistle from Ireland to the Yearly Meeting at London. He also published "Gospel Truths held by the People called Quakers," and, on his return to England, "A Defence of a Paper called Gospel Truths against the exceptions of the Bishop of Cork's Testimony." After a visit to London and Deptford, to bid farewell to some Friends sailing for Pennsylvania, this earnest and laborious man again tasked the press to print "The Truth of God as held by the People called Quakers; being a short Vindication of them from the Abuses and Misrepresentations put upon them by envious Apostates and mercenary Adversaries." There is more of variety than would naturally be expected in these repeated expositions of opinion.

One more public effort in behalf of his brethren was required of Penn before he left England. There had been a public discussion at West Derham, between an equal number of Episcopal clergymen and Quakers; and the popular opinion was, that the latter had tri-

umphed. Many of the clergy of Norfolk took up the dispute, and published "A Brief Discovery," in which the views of the Quakers were most grossly misrepresented as mischievous and dangerous. This was presented to Parliament with a design of contracting the liberty now allowed to Quakers. Penn contented himself with circulating an expostulatory and cautionary paper among the members, and with publishing "A Just Censure of Francis Bugg's Address to the Parliament against the Quakers."

Though Penn was accompanied by his wife and family on his second embarkation for Pennsylvania, yet, in view of the uncertainty of his life, he wrote his best counsels before his departure, and published them in a little volume, called "Advice to his Children for their civil and religious Conduct." The volume contains excellent rules of life, with the recommendation of all Christian graces and virtues. He wrote from on shipboard at Cowes, on the 3d of September, 1699, "A Farewell Epistle of Love and Exhortation to Friends," and sailed on the 9th of the month. His protracted voyage of nearly three months was accounted by some to a special Providence, protecting him from the yellow fever, which in the interval had desolated the colony.

CHAPTER XI.

Affairs of Pennsylvania. — Dissensions. — Military Supplies refused. — New Act of Settlement by Markham. — Penn's second Arrival. — Birth of a Son. — The Assembly. — Penn's humane Measures in Behalf of Slaves and Indians in Part frustrated. — The Constitution. — Penn is called to England again. — State of the Colony. — The Assembly adopts the new Constitution. — The Indians. — City Charter of Philadelphia. — Penn's final Departure.

REVERTING to the fact already stated, that Penn, on the restoration to him of his proprietary rights and authority, in 1694, had appointed Markham as his deputy, a brief review of affairs during the interval will present the condition of the colony at the time of Penn's second arrival. Markham, assuming his office on the 26th of March, 1695, called a new provincial Council of three members, and an Assembly of six members, from each county of the province and territories. The Council met on the 20th of April, the Assembly on the 10th of September. Altercations at once arose, because he followed the precedent of

Fletcher, rather than the provisions of the charter. The session was soon closed, and another commenced in October. Markham renewed the demand of Fletcher, founded on Queen Anne's letter, for money to aid in the fortifications of New York. Penn seems to have favored this demand, and it is probable that an implied condition on which his government was restored to him, - was, that he should bear his share in such exactions.

This demand of money, for a purpose which, it could not be disguised, was directly or indirectly connected with military proceedings, was most offensive to the Quaker portion of the people. Indeed, the whole people opposed it, as an unsafe precedent, or as a trespass upon the terms under which they had emigrated; and as they tried all means of evading, deferring, or resisting a compliance with it, and, whenever they yielded, connected one or more conditions with their grants, we may readily conceive that the demand was fruitful of contentions.

Markham convened the Assembly again, on the 26th of October, 1696. They remonstrated, as before, against the illegality of the call. They were now anxious for a change in the mode of government, and, under the name of a new Act of Settlement, another charter or constitu-

tion was proposed. Markham again presented Fletcher's request for more money; and, after much bickering, by way of compromise, Markham confirmed the new constitution in November, and the Assembly voted three hundred pounds, to be appropriated, however, to the relief of distressed Indians, near Albany. The Act of Settlement provided that the Council should consist of two, and the Assembly of four members, from each of the three counties of the province and the territories; that an affirmation should serve as an oath for Quakers; and that the Assembly should have the power to propose laws.

A temporary quiet was thus restored in the legislature, while the general interests of the colony were flourishing. Markham asked for more money in 1697, and was respectfully refused, on the plea of poverty, and the assertion that the neighboring provinces had not contributed their fair proportion. A grossly exaggerated report had reached London, charging upon the Pennsylvanians the crime of piracy, and an illicit contempt of the navigation laws of England. The Pennsylvania government, therefore, issued a proclamation against such offenders.

On the whole, the state of affairs was as propitious as Penn could have expected to find

it when he arrived in December, 1699. Leaving his son William in England, he had brought with him his wife, and his daughter Lætitia, probably then his only other child. His son John was born in Philadelphia, about a month after his arrival. The general expectation, encouraged too by the language of the proprietor, was, that he would make Pennsylvania the permanent home of himself and family. He landed at Chester, and was received by the Friends with the most affectionate respect and joy. An accident marred the occasion; as some young men, contrary to express orders, discharged some old ship's cannon, one of them lost an arm by the forbidden display. After attending a religious meeting at Chester, on Sunday, Penn went up to Philadelphia, and there held another meeting. His presence caused delight to the multitude, though it was observed that some, who knew him not, and were not Quakers, but had come since his last visit, did not participate in the general joy.

He at once issued his writs calling together the Assembly, and, in the interval preceding its meeting, he mingled freely and heartily with the people, attending courts, weddings, and religious meetings, and endeavoring to acquaint himself with the whole interests and

occupations of all. His residence was at Pennsbury, when he allowed himself any rest; but he had also a dwelling in Philadelphia. The severe weather of winter precluded any extended journeys. He kept the Assembly in session but a fortnight, as his chief purpose was to pass some decisive laws against piracy and illicit trade, to remove all reproach from the colony.

The concern, which at this period weighed most heavily upon the heart of Penn, was the condition of the negro slaves and the Indians, but more especially of the former. The outrageous iniquity which has rioted in its foulest license in this land, where it ought never even to have been named, the holding of human beings as slaves, was introduced into Pennsylvania with the very beginnings of its plantations. Even the Quakers, whose standards and practice are allowed, by consenting testimony, to come nearest to the law of Christianity, engaged in the abominable traffic. Their sufficient excuse to their own hearts, and perhaps their sufficient defence against the judgment of our day, was, that they were exercising a humane mercy, in receiving to a share in their comforts and blessings, as civilized beings, the abject and barbarous victims of heathenism. Penn resolved, that, both in his re-

ligious Society and in his civil government, the most effective measures should be taken to mitigate the evil so long as it must be endured, and to remove it if that were possible.

The cause of the negro slaves had already been pressed upon the attention of the Friends in Pennsylvania before Penn's return. The honor of the first movement belongs to those emigrants from Kirchheim, who had settled at Germantown. In 1688, they had presented a paper to the Yearly Meeting of Friends at Burlington, protesting against the buying, selling, and holding men in slavery, as inconsistent with the Christian religion. Some other local and subordinate meetings having, from time to time, sent similar protests, the Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia, in 1696, issued its advice that Friends be careful not to encourage the bringing of any more slaves, and that they be religiously watchful of those already in their possession. George Keith and his party took the same ground, in the same year. The immediate result was, that the slaves were treated with more kindness and regard, and were looked upon as members of the families who had their services.*

* See the valuable paper, entitled "Notices of Negro Slavery as connected with Pennsylvania, by Edward Bettle," in *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, Vol. I. Pt. 2, p. 365.

Penn introduced the subject with great earnestness and with success, before his first Monthly Meeting, in 1700. It was there determined, that a Monthly Meeting should be held expressly for slaves, and that their masters should attend with them and labor for their Christian improvement. The same interest was excited in behalf of the Indians, and Penn took upon himself the expense of interpreters

During an interval of relief from the duties of the Council board, the Governor occupied himself in providing for the health and cleanliness of Philadelphia, requiring all slaughter-houses to be upon the river's bank, removing other nuisances, and arranging for the comfort of the inhabitants. The town then contained seven hundred dwellings.

On the meeting of the Assembly, on the 10th of May, 1700, Penn proposed deliberation upon still another form of government, as the people were dissatisfied with that of Markham, which had been adopted in 1696. The Governor designed that sufficient time and thought should now be spent upon a constitution, so that, with the help of past experience, the ends of government might be answered, and the state be settled in a regular and permanent method of administration. He did not

wish the matter to be hastily decided, and therefore, without pressing this Assembly to immediate action, he asked them to keep the subject in view while other business advanced.

In June, Penn laid before the Assembly his views and wishes in regard to the treatment of the slaves, a matter to him of increasingly painful interest. He sent to the Assembly three bills; one "for regulating negroes in their morals and marriages," another "for the regulation of their trials and punishments," and another "for preventing abuses upon the negroes." While the Assembly passed the second only of these bills, to the great grief of the Governor, the other two were negatived. The reasons probably were, that while the Council, composed entirely of Quakers, unani- mously coincided with Penn, the Assembly, in which the Quakers were a minority, did not feel those scruples of conscience on this matter of slavery; and that the members from the territories, who were again uneasy, opposed nearly all legislation at this time for the mere sake of opposition. Some other bills were passed, and the Assembly dissolved on the 8th of June.

After attending an Indian feast, and there deepening the regard which the natives entertained for him, Penn travelled through his

province, the Jerseys, and Maryland, in the work of the ministry. On the 14th of October, he again convened the Assembly, which met at New Castle to favor the territories. The chief business was to consider the new constitution, and to provide for the support of government. But the agitation, caused by the uneasiness and opposition of the members from the territories, absorbed the chief attention of the Assembly. They were afraid lest a further subdivision of the province into counties, and its increasing preponderance, would cause the territories to be outvoted and oppressed, and they incessantly opposed the quiet settlement of all other business. Penn, for a time, appeased the strife by a measure, which allowed that, for all bills particularly affecting the territories, the assent of two thirds of their own representatives, and of a majority of the representatives of the province, should be requisite. Scarcely, however, was this conciliatory indulgence assented to, when another dispute arose about proportioning the tax then to be levied for the support of government. The territorial representatives showed that they had the power of opposition, which they wished to retain. After much bickering, Penn again devised a measure of peace, and the tax was levied in a proportion of a little less than a quarter of

the amount upon the territories. The new frame of government was still slowly considered, but not passed, and the Assembly dissolved on the 27th of November.

Early in 1701, Penn had intended to go to East Jersey, to aid in quelling a riot there. Quiet was restored before he set out upon the journey; but from a letter, which he wrote on the occasion, it appears that he strongly advocated a resort to force on such emergencies, and was no foe to the most effective magisterial authority.

On the 23d of April, he held, at Philadelphia, another treaty of amity with the representatives of various Indian tribes, including the Five Nations; presents were exchanged, mutual agreements were made, and the natives acknowledged the King of England, not as their master, but as their protector, in preference above the King of France.* A company was formed in the Council, to trade with the Indians, so as to avoid abuses, and to bring them to the Christian religion. It was agreed that none should buy land of them, within the charter limits, without the permission of the proprietor; that none should sell them

* The terms and agreements of this treaty are given in Proud, Vol. I. p. 428 - 432.

strong liquors; and that no foreigner should trade with them.

Penn convened the Assembly again on the 1st of August, and laid before them a letter from the King, demanding three hundred and fifty pounds as their portion of a sum assessed upon all the proprietary governments for fortification and defence. This was a hard request for Penn to make, and harder still for the Assembly to allow. After much shuffling and procrastination, the money was refused on the alleged grounds of poverty, and that the other colonies had not contributed their fair proportion to the expense of previous defences.

Penn had, about this time, another parley at Pennsbury with a tribe of Indians which he had not met before. We have an account of it in the journal of John Richardson, a minister among the Friends, who was present. It seems, that, in answer to his earnest queries about the Indian belief in a future state of rewards and punishments, the natives expressed a conviction that the good enjoyed hereafter warm and pleasant hunting grounds, with comfortable blankets, while the wicked were banished to a cold place, and shivered there for the lack of clothing. This is an inversion of the more common view of retribution among

Christians. A cool place of torment is certainly a novelty in religious speculation.

But the plans of the proprietor were again arrested in their progress by the tidings transmitted to him from England, that a measure was already pending before the House of Lords, for bringing all the proprietary governments under the crown. Some real abuses, some exaggerated reports, but more real fear of the growing strength of the colonies, suggested this measure. It was kept in abeyance, for a time, by some who were interested in opposing it. But Penn found in it cogent reasons for his return to England. Doubtless other considerations had weight with him, at this time, to lessen his desire to remain where he was. He was far from being entirely at ease in his government, or from finding the pleasant home, and the prosperous toil, which he had anticipated. An increasing variety of character, and other elements in the population of the colony, the disaffection of the territories; the issues constantly raised between the Quakers and others, and the great individual liberty allowed, caused frequent collisions of passion and interest. From the letters of Penn and his correspondents, it appears that his wife and daughter were uneasy and discontented, and that the unwillingness of the people to

provide for his support, or to reimburse his heavy outlays, had much weight with him.*

He determined upon a return voyage; and at once summoning the Assembly, which met at Philadelphia, on the 15th of September, he gave them the reasons for his departure, expressed his strong reluctance at the necessity of going away, suggested the importance of their legislative action, and repeated the King's demand for three hundred and fifty pounds for the fortifications. The last item was summarily disposed of by a negative. The Assembly presented to him a respectful address, and twenty articles, relating to their privileges and desires, on which they wished for his action. He nobly offered them the privilege of nominating his deputy or successor; but they declined to avail themselves of the offer. Some of their articles he passed; others, which embraced a most impertinent and improper encroachment upon his own estate and private rights, he refused with some severity of temper, which the occasion justified. The people, not knowing whom they might have to deal with after him, and well aware that they must

* See the rich and valuable antiquarian gatherings of John F. Watson, in his *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania*, Vol. I. pp. 24, 167.

make the most of his indulgence if they were coming under a direct royal control, were disposed to trespass upon him even beyond the bounds of common decency.* His honest indignation soon subsided with the occasion which called it out.

While the Council was in session, a delegation of Indians was admitted to another friendly conference, and received presents when they took their leave of the proprietor and Governor.

Another rupture was now made by the delegates from the territories. Some of them withdrew, and were about returning home. Penn employed all his persuasive power in attempting to conciliate them. He met them by themselves, and, after a patient hearing of the seceders, he reconciled them, by promising them a final security against their ever being outvoted, in having a separate government for themselves, if they should desire it.

* The address and articles of the Assembly, with Penn's answer, are in Proud, Vol. II. Appendix V. Among other exactions made upon Penn were the demand of the free gift of some of his own reserved land, a request that the quitrent charge might be removed, and that new terms of purchase might be made, and a claim that his unsold lots might be had at the rate of the first cost, without any allowance for their increased value.

The Assembly revised and enacted about one hundred laws. The new frame of government, which was essentially the same as that passed by Markham, except in allowing the territories to separate from the government of the province, and to have one of their own in three years, if they desired it, was ratified by Penn, on the 28th of October, 1701, and continued in force so long as the English monarch controlled the colony. Penn then appointed a Council of eight, with executive power, and made Andrew Hamilton, a distinguished and influential proprietor of East New Jersey, his Deputy-Governor.

One of the last official acts of William Penn, before he embarked, was to make Philadelphia a city, by a charter signed on the 25th of October, 1701, and presented on the 29th of October. Edward Shippen was the first Mayor. Penn then embarked with his family for England. It was the last time on which he was to look upon those fresh scenes of human effort and conflict, for which his soul yearned as fitted for the exercise of its noblest faculties. It is vain to ask what effect his continued residence here would have had upon the prospects and destiny of that noble state, which is honored in bearing his unsullied name.

CHAPTER XII.

Penn's Misfortunes in England. — Queen Anne. — His Address to her for the Quakers. — Discouraging News from his Colony. — The Territories secede. — Penn sends Evans as his Deputy. — William Penn, Junior. — Misconduct and Unpopularity of Evans. — Dissensions and Remonstrances. — Evans recalled. — Penn's Embarrassments. — A Prisoner for Debt. — Sends Gookin as his Deputy. — More Troubles in Pennsylvania. — James Logan. — Penn's expostulatory Letter. — Mortgages his Province, and resolves to sell it. — His Health fails. — His Decline, and Death.

WILLIAM PENN arrived at Portsmouth in December, 1701. The primary end of his return was soon answered, as the project for bringing the proprietary governments, by purchase, under the direct control of the crown, was soon abandoned. But duties of various kinds occupied a portion of his time, though labors of devotion and love for others continued to employ, as they always had employed, the larger measure of it. He returned to England to bear renewed disappointments, to suffer further indignities, to witness the frustration

of many of his noble plans, and, amid the imbecility and helplessness of a long decline, to retain no other faculty but that of giving expression to the deep love, which glowed to the very last in his soul. These varied trials are the lot of all, who, by public service or by philanthropic endeavors, open so many avenues for them to their hearts. They have fallen heavily upon the wisest and best of the earth. Indeed, there is nothing which so relieves the dark mystery of evil, as the well proved fact, that the wisest and best of the earth are appointed to bear its heaviest inflictions, and still to conquer by the might of a diviner principle. Penn bore his share, and it was a very large one, in this hard conflict. His trials were those of the great; his victory was that of the good.

The limits of this biography are restricted to the most brief mention of incidents, which concerned the proprietor of Pennsylvania; the reader must look elsewhere for the history of that province.

The death of King William, on the 16th of March, 1702, did not essentially affect the interests of Penn. Queen Anne had been, and continued to be, his friend, respecting his great virtues, admiring his whole character, and being willing to forward his plans. She re-

newed the promise of toleration to the Quakers, and he carried up to her their address of thanks. He took lodgings at Kensington, to be near the court, and doubtless enjoyed much social happiness with the friends who loved and honored him. He published, in 1701, a second part to his "Fruits of Solitude," and in the following year wrote a sheet, entitled "Considerations upon the Bill against occasional Conformity;" that bill being then before the Commons. In 1703, Penn removed to Knightsbridge, where he wrote two prefaces, one to a collection of the writings of Charles Marshall, called "Zion's Travellers comforted;" the other, "Vindiciæ Veritatis; or, An Occasional Defence of the Principles and Practice of the People called Quakers; in Answer to a Treatise by John Stillingfleet, a Clergyman in Lincolnshire, miscalled Seasonable Advice against Quakerism."

In the mean while, the information which Penn received from his province was very disheartening to him. The Lieutenant-Governor, Hamilton, could not control the conflicting elements of popular will and discordant interests, and he outraged the feelings of the Quakers by attempting to organize a militia. The territories, which had not accepted, nor had their share in ratifying, the new constitution, seceded

from the joint government, and the province wished to avail itself of the contingency provided for in the charter, by increasing the number of representatives through the choice of four new members from each county, and of two from the city of Philadelphia. Governor Hamilton acceded to the measure; but, before it could be carried into effect, he died, in February, 1703. Edward Shippen, as president of the Council, filled his place till the wishes of Penn should be known. But he at once found himself involved in a heated quarrel with the Assembly, respecting its power of self-adjournment.

The proprietor immediately sent over John Evans as his deputy. This was a bad choice. Evans, though devoted to the interest of Penn, was young, passionate, volatile, and withal loose in his private habits. He treated with levity the scruples of the Quakers, and seems to have thought that their principles, which had stood the fires of persecution, would yield to his dictation or buffoonery. He arrived in February, 1704. He appears to have set his heart upon reuniting the province and territories, and he immediately attempted a reconciliation between their respective representatives. The members of the territories, with whose side of the controversy he implicated himself,

were ready to accept the terms proposed by him; but the members of the province, probably persuaded, from former experience, that real and lasting harmony was impossible, refused again to assume the show of it. A final separation therefore took place, and the three lower counties, or the territories, henceforward had their own legislature, thus forming what afterwards became the independent state of Delaware. Governor Evans held an Assembly for the province at Philadelphia, and another for the territories at New Castle.

There came over with Governor Evans William Penn, Junior, the only surviving son of the proprietor by his first wife, and one of the many trials of the excellent father, perhaps that one of them all which came nearest to his heart. There are extant letters of the proprietor to James Logan, from which it appears that the son, then a man with a wife and children, had for some time thought of visiting Pennsylvania. These letters, written in confidence, disclose the faults and weaknesses of the young man to Logan, to whose care, though himself a young and single man, the son of the proprietor was intrusted. He came to see how he should like the place, intending to return and convey his family. Logan, warned

of his propensities, was desired to win for him the favor of Friends, and to keep him constantly employed. The number of hounds which he brought with him will probably indicate the ruling motive, which led him to the forests of the New World. As might be supposed, he found the Society of Friends too tedious for him. He sometimes attended their religious meetings, but soon ceased to regard any form of worship, and, owing to some offence, which he took up against the Quakers, probably a resentment of their expostulation or advice, he broke his connection with the Society. In company with some young bachelors, he kept house in Philadelphia, and, amid the indulgences of free living, he did not escape the imputation of the grosser vices. Having been concerned with others in a drunken frolic and a street fray, young Penn was presented by the grand jury, in September, 1704, and convicted, though Governor Evans reversed the sentence. We may, however infer, from the fact of his having friends and vindicators, that he stands charged with the utmost that his enemies or severe critics could allege against him. After selling his manor to pay his debts, he returned to England in disgust; and his father, though not justifying his

folly, lamented some provocation to which he had been subjected.*

The unpopularity of Governor Evans increased with all his public acts, and by the habits of his private life. His repeated attempts to involve the people in military preparations, and other measures of his administration, led the Assembly to send to Penn a remonstrance against him. In 1705, Evans informed the Assembly that the proprietor was displeased with this proceeding. A temporary harmony was restored, when two mischievous measures of Evans completely alienated from him the respect and confidence of the people. Determined to try the effect of a stratagem upon the pacific principles of the Quakers, the Governor, in conjunction with Thomas French and others, caused a deceptive message from New Castle to be sent to him at Philadelphia, on occasion of a fair, on the 16th of May, 1706, informing him that some armed vessels were coming up the river with a hostile intent. By a preconcerted arrangement, frightened emissaries sped through the streets, while Evans himself, riding about with a drawn

* See Letters from Mrs. Logan's collection, quoted in *Watson's Annals of Philadelphia*, Vol. I. pp. 112 and following.

sword, caused a terrible fright. James Logan was thought to be implicated in the trick. Amid the consternation which ensued, the loss of valuable property, and the dangers always attending such an alarm, only four Quakers appeared in arms. When the deception was discovered, the indignation of the people was intense.

The other outrage, committed by Evans, was the erection of a fort at New Castle, by connivance with some in the territories, and the demand of a toll from ships passing it, under the penalty of being fired upon. Some resolute Quakers in Philadelphia boldly subjected themselves in a vessel to this penalty, and, by a stratagem getting the commander of the fort in their power, put a stop to the imposition. A second remonstrance against Evans was sent to Penn in 1707.

When information of this distressing character was conveyed to the proprietor in England, it found him involved in troubles of a most annoying and painful nature. With at least an equal zeal for the religious views which he so fondly loved, and so devotedly supported, as for the good administration of his province, he had written, in 1704, a preface to John Whithead's Works, and had travelled as

a minister, in 1705, in England. Penn was no economist; but kindness, not wastefulness, consumed his means. His estate in England and Ireland produced an income of fifteen hundred pounds. The purchase money of his province was nominally the debt due from the crown to his father, while the sale of the lots would apparently increase his means. To these sources of an annual revenue should have been added the quitrents and the imposts, which ought to have yielded him some thousands a year. Of the two latter emoluments he was almost entirely defrauded. Now, among his expenses must be set down the untold sums, which he had paid for the relief of hundreds of his religious friends in England, Ireland, and Scotland, as well as upon the continents of Europe and America; the cost of his public agencies and his court interests; the charges attending the emigration and settlement of both poor and rich in the Jerseys and in his own patent; his share in the burdens of government and in improvements; and lastly, the maintenance of his deputies almost entirely from his own purse. Penn himself says, "I spent upon the colony ten thousand pounds the first two years. My deputy-governors cost me much, and vast sums I have melted away

here in London, to hinder much mischief against us, if not to do us much good."*

Philip Ford, a Quaker and merchant of London, had been for several years Penn's general agent there. Through his mismanagement and dishonesty, followed up by his heirs, the proprietor of Pennsylvania, who had been an inmate of prisons for conscience' sake, became now a prisoner for debt. In his complicated business concerns, which were embarrassed by the faults of others, Penn had, with the fullest confidence, signed a deed of sale of his province to Ford, and took for him a lease for three years. Afterwards, Ford, having paid sixteen thousand pounds, and having received seventeen thousand pounds, demanded of Penn, for compound interest and commissions, a balance of ten thousand five hundred pounds, while it would appear that less than two thousand pounds were due him. On the death of Ford, his son and widow, although bed-ridden, exacted the whole amount claimed, and arrested Penn at a meeting in January, 1708. To avoid their extortion, and to be in a situation to make the best terms for himself, Penn put himself within the limits of the Fleet Prison,

* Letter of Penn to his steward, J. Harrison, at Pennsylvania, in Watson, Vol. I. p. 108.

where he made himself as comfortable as a good conscience, generous living, and the kind visits of Friends would allow. The Fords petitioned Queen Anne to put them in possession of Pennsylvania, but without success, while they offered to sell it to Isaac Norris for eight thousand pounds. When the case came before chancery, Penn, though evidently wronged, lost it, and his freedom was secured by subscriptions and loans among his friends.*

Constant perplexities annoyed Penn at this time, and frustrated all his intentions. The troubles in his own distant province, multiplying with each message which brought them, gave him no peace, except that which he found in his own breast. What grounds there may have been for the strong, and continued, and fretting resistance against his government and plans, it might be difficult now to decide. Nor should our honorable and deserved estimation of William Penn lead us to imagine, that there were no such grounds. He was the feudal head of a democracy, and this was a combination of heterogeneous elements, which could promise but little harmony in their workings. He had given the people so much liberty, that they thought one lawful mode of exercising

* Watson, Vol. I. p. 108.

it was to strip him of the little authority, which he had reserved to himself. Had he been in their midst, his personal weight, his manifest devotion to their good, and the implication of his interest with their own, would doubtless have secured a more felicitous result to himself personally. But the delegation of his authority to deputies, not always most wisely chosen, his own separation, and the difficulties attending the exercise of his power across the water, the collision of parties, and the novelty of self-government; these and other causes embarrassed his prospects, and defeated some of his designs. The leaders of the opposing party in the colony were David Lodge, Colonel Quarry,* of the customs, and John Moore. Their opposition showed itself in three ways; in refusing a pecuniary support to Penn and his deputies; in embarrassing the courts about oaths or affirmations; and in writing to England such high-wrought accounts of the undefended and mismanaged condition of the colony, as to have originated and prolonged the

* Two memorials of Colonel Quarry against the government of Pennsylvania, addressed to the Lords Commissioners for Trade, with Penn's answers, are in *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, Vol. II. Pt 2, pp. 191. 206.

design of putting the government directly under the crown.

The second remonstrance against Evans, which had been sent to England, together with the information brought to Penn by Isaac Norris and others, induced him, after candidly weighing the views and measures of both parties, to recall Evans in 1708, and to send Charles Gookin as his deputy.* He then mortgaged his province to some Friends, for six thousand six hundred pounds. Thus temporarily relieved, he devoted himself again to another ministerial tour, and published an introduction to the works of his eminent friend, Bulstrode Whitelocke.

Governor Gookin, arriving in March, 1709, found the Assembly in session, and, much to his offence, was anticipated in the business which he would have proposed, by an address that entered at length into old grievances, and suggested a prosecution of Evans before he left the country.

* In a letter to James Logan, written a few months after he had sent Governor Gookin, Penn says, "Make the most of him to friends and service. He had hints enough to follow theirs and thine, and was let into every secret of your affairs that occurred to me at his going. Give him measures of persons and things." *Memoirs of Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, Vol. I. pp. 208, 209.

In June, Gookin summoned the Assembly again, and, in aid of the expedition designed by Queen Anne against Newfoundland and Canada, asked for one hundred and fifty soldiers, with officers and outfit, or for an equivalent in four thousand pounds. The Assembly refused both proposals, but offered to make a present to the Queen of five hundred pounds. The Governor, greatly displeased, adjourned the Assembly till August. At that time he renewed his demand, and the Assembly offered to add three hundred pounds more to their grant to the Queen, and to give the Governor two hundred pounds besides. This was also unsatisfactory. In the collisions which attended this strife, James Logan, an honest and influential Quaker, but who doubtless improved, as he advanced in life, in some qualities of temper and judgment, was impeached by the Assembly, arrested, and sentenced to punishment. The Assembly would not grant any money, unless the Governor would ratify the bills, which it had enacted. The same discord prevailed in the next session, as Gookin would not allow a bill to pass without the approbation of the Council, and of course the Assembly issued another remonstrance. Logan went to England, in 1710, bearing to Penn, who, for the best reasons, reposed all confi-

dence in him, a full statement of the contentions in the Quaker province. It ought, however, to be admitted, that while any other than a Quaker province would have been liable, under like circumstances, to equal disturbance, none but a Quaker province could have peacefully endured and flourished amid such strife. For it is a remarkable fact, that this discord in the government was accompanied by a steadily increasing and fair prosperity at large.

The representation made by Logan drew from Penn an expostulatory letter, addressed to the Assembly, dated London, June 29th, 1710. This beautiful and affecting document, written with all the magnanimity and forbearance of the author, contains a brief review of his connection with the colony, his plans, sacrifices, disappointments, and grievances, while it earnestly, but gently, administers censure, and affectionately appeals to all the better feelings of those to whom it was addressed.* This letter produced a great and good effect, as it could scarcely fail to do. It melted the hearts of all, who could feel for the virtues and misfortunes of their most devoted and disinterested friend. The next Assembly, composed entirely of new members, who had not been soured or

* Given by Proud, Clarkson, Hazard, and others.

heated by previous animosities, met and proceeded in much harmony.

In 1711, Gookin renewed the incessant request for military aid or money. The Assembly regretted to refuse, but consented to raise a tax of two thousand pounds for a present to the Queen. There was far from being entire harmony, for matters of controversy continually presented themselves.

And now the blessing of health, which, next to his faith and a good conscience, William Penn valued most, and had longest enjoyed, began to fail him. Cares and reverses may have worn upon his good constitution; and when his good constitution began to yield to human infirmities, before the period of old age, mind and body shared equally in the decline. In 1710, he fixed his residence, for the remainder of his life, at Rushcombe. He was constant in his attendance at religious meetings; he continued his large correspondence, made occasional visits to London, and, in 1711, dictated a preface to the works of John Banks.

In 1712, Penn resolved to sell his proprietary rights to the crown, and asked therefor twenty thousand pounds. Queen Anne referred him to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations. His purpose to sell seems to have been suggested by the crown's

previous intention to purchase. James Logan began to correspond with him upon the subject as early as 1701, and Penn seems then to have entertained the idea, though reluctantly, and to have comforted himself with the thought, that though he disposed of his proprietary rights, he should still leave to his children, for inheritance, a domain and a burial-place in Pennsylvania. In 1712, he had completed arrangements for the transfer, for which he was to be paid twelve thousand pounds, and had already received a partial payment, when a stroke of apoplexy, from which he never wholly recovered, caused a failure of his mental faculties; and the business was never completed, though afterwards attempted by him. His wife was informed, in 1713, that her husband "might have long since finished it, had he not insisted too much on gaining privileges for the people." It was with deep sorrow that the honored and faithful man thus sought a refuge from his perplexities in a measure, which wrecked at least one darling hope of his life.

He wrote to some Friends in Pennsylvania, on the 24th of July, 1712, that he was about concluding his transfer to government. He says, "But I have taken effectual care, that all the laws and privileges I have granted to

you shall be observed by the Queen's Governors, &c., and that we, who are Friends, shall be in a more particular manner regarded and treated by the Queen. And you will find all the charters and proprietary governments annexed to the crown by act of Parliament next winter. I purpose to see you if God give me life this fall; but I grow old and infirm, yet would gladly see you once more before I die, and my young sons and daughter also settled upon good tracts of land," &c.*

Three successive apoplectic attacks undermined the strong constitution of William Penn. His powers of motion, and his memory and mind, failed him. Amid the comforts of his home at Rushcombe, with the assiduous care of his wife, and cheered by occasional visits of public friends, he passed the remainder of his days. His last love showed itself in his attendance at religious meetings; and when he could no longer speak the names of those with whom he had shared such pleasures, he could remember their countenances, and feel the comfort which they spoke. Intervals of partial restoration, during six years, relieved him. Up to the year 1715, he attended meetings at Reading, and in 1717 could walk about his

* *Memoirs of Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, Vol. I. pp. 210, 211.

grounds in pleasant weather. But, steadily approaching the hour of his relief, enjoying unbroken serenity of mind in every moment of consciousness, he expired on the 30th of July, 1718, in the seventy-fourth year of his age.

A great concourse attended his funeral, and a noble and affecting testimony was borne to his honored life. He was interred at Jordan's in Buckinghamshire, where his former wife and several of his family were buried, on the 5th of August, 1718.

CHAPTER XIII.

Respect borne to the Character of William Penn.
 — *The Aspersions cast upon him after his Death by various Writers considered.* — *Burnet.* — *The State Papers of Nairne.* — *Lord Littleton.* — *Franklin.* — *Grahame.* — *General Estimate of Penn's Character.* — *His Virtues and Services.* — *His private Life and Habits.* — *Prosperity of the Colony.* — *The Descendants of Penn.*

THE protracted seclusion and decline, which preceded the decease of William Penn, were cheered by the many earnest inquiries and

respectful sympathies of a multitude of friends. The large concourse at his funeral bore the testimony of some of all sects to his singular liberality as a Christian, and his perfect consistency as a Friend. His wife attended to many of his business concerns, and, after his death, held frequent correspondence with the functionaries in Pennsylvania. Indeed, as will appear, she administered and governed the province for her children during their minority.

But detraction did not leave the last years of Penn unassailed, nor has it wholly spared his memory. A disowned Quaker minister circulated a report, that he died of madness like to that of Nebuchadnezzar; but the idle tale was promptly refuted. As to the imputations which have been cast upon his public career, including the calumnies of enemies and the misapprehensions and prejudices of those who undesignedly misjudged him, but a few words of reply will be thought necessary. The absurd charge of his being a Jesuit or a Papist has been already noticed.

The phenomena of Penn's public career are so remarkable, that it would have been a miracle had he escaped calumny and censure. That he should have been a Quaker, was a marvel, which almost stupefied those who otherwise would have been his intimate friends.

That, being a Quaker, and amenable to the scorn and persecution visited on that sect, he should have shared the highest favor of the court, and been served by ambitious and intriguing statesmen, was another marvel, which few took the pains to explain consistently with his integrity. Now, it may fairly be submitted whether his undeniable virtues do not offer the most reasonable and satisfactory explanation of both those marvels. Conscience made him a Quaker, and conscience was never sacrificed in any advantage which he obtained for himself or for others. His profession brought upon him penalties enough. It would have been hard if he could not avail himself of the immunities attendant upon that profession. He suffered in behalf of the great principle of religious liberty; was he to refuse to enjoy its blessings, because the Catholics shared them with him, or because the great charter of the soul was confirmed only by an arbitrary act of a monarch, and still needed to be legalized by a Parliament?*

* I have not thought the calumny of Chalmers worthy of a place in the text, or that a refutation of it is called for even in a note. His coarse assault upon Penn is thus expressed; "In the mean time, the renowned William Penn, the head of a considerable party, a man of great depth of understanding, attended by equal dissimulation.

Bishop Burnet, in his "History of his Own Time," has given currency and permanence to the charges against Penn, based upon his furtherance of some of the measures of James the Second. These charges have been sufficiently noticed in the preceding pages. It may now be left to the admirers of Burnet to explain or justify an act of great meanness on his part. His last mention of Penn is under date 1690, when Penn was embraced in a proclamation with others under a false imputation, and is said by the Bishop to have "absconded." This last word we know to be inapplicable to Penn's retirement from public gaze, though not from the reach of justice, should it have sought him. But Burnet brought down his history to the year 1713, and in the interval between 1690 and that date, Penn, as he well knew, was honorably acquitted, and restored to his government, and actually discharged it in Pennsylvania, enjoyed the personal esteem of Queen Anne, travelled largely as a minister, mingled on equal terms with the nobles and dignitaries of the realm, and was sinking under the providential stroke which

of extreme interestedness, accompanied with insatiable ambition, and of an address in proportion to all these, engaged in colonization." Chalmers's *Political Annals*, p. 635.

brought him to the grave. Burnet also knew that the lying impostor Fuller, whose false oath had raised suspicion against Penn, had been brought to a fine and to scorn, to the house of correction and the pillory. Why, then, should Bishop Burnet forget twenty-three years of his "Own Time," with all their honorable testimony to Penn, that he might leave on the page of his History, as the last word connected with that honored man, the charge that he "absconded"?

The charges against Penn, found in the State Papers of Nairne, appear to involve him in two treasonable attempts to restore the Stuarts to the English throne. The charges rest upon the verbal statements of spies and informers, and upon doubtful interpretations of letters written in ciphers. They relate to two periods, namely, December, 1693, and the year 1713. They are decisively set aside by facts. As to the former period, that was the very time at which Penn proved his entire innocence of all such charges before the King and Council. As to the latter period, so far was Penn from being then in a condition to plot as a traitor, that the crown lawyers pronounced him to be incapable, through mental infirmity, of selling a piece of property.

Lord Littleton, in his "Dialogues of the

Dead," has introduced into that between Cortez and Penn intimations that pecuniary profit and ambition were the motives, which interested the latter in an American province. It is a pity that the noble writer could not have introduced a balance sheet from Penn's accounts, showing how many thousand pounds his speculation cost him, and also some extracts from the debates of the Pennsylvania Council and Assembly, which would prove that Penn's ambition took a singular turn when he allowed a feudal government, of which he was the lord, to become in his hands a pure democracy, which denied him even his honest debts. It would be well if pecuniary speculation and ambition would always admit so much of the moral element, as they found in the noble sacrifices of William Penn.

It is singular that the meanest and most dishonorable aspersions cast on Penn should have come from his own province, sanctioned by one of the most renowned of the citizens of the New World. These aspersions are found in the "Historical Review of the Constitution and Government of Pennsylvania, from its Origin," written in 1759. Although Dr. Franklin was not the author of that volume, he was the responsible voucher of those imputations of worldliness, self-seeking, and exorbitancy

against Penn which are found in it.* The only shadow of proof alleged for them is offered in Penn's reiterated demand for the quit-rents, which were a portion of the purchase money of all the land sold by him. He never had a more honest due than these. It was to the disgrace of his province that they were not paid. Even the attempt of the Assembly to turn them to the support of the government was an acknowledgment of the debt. By all allowances of morality and law, Penn would have been justified in depriving all the discontents of their estates, to which they had lost a legal title by breach of contract. But he did not avail himself of that extreme power. He took the other extreme, by bearing the insult and the injury with noble magnanimity. This political review was written for a partisan purpose. The object of the author was to heap obloquy upon the proprietary family, to make out a case which should involve the successive owners of the province in the common charge of mercenary exaction, and to help the early stages of the revolution in the American colonies under real wrongs,

* See a letter from Dr. Franklin to David Hume, in which the former denies the authorship of the "Historical Review," and Mr. Sparks's note upon it. Sparks's *Franklin*, Vol. VII. p. 208.

by showing that their connection with England had always caused them trouble. Franklin, or whoever he aided in the work, wished to make a complete argument; and so the first of the Penn name came in for his share of the discredit, which was to be visited on the family. Under other circumstances, few men would have surpassed Franklin in exhibiting the character of the first Governor in all the harmony of its distinctions and virtues.

The last writer deserving notice on this subject is the late excellent James Grahame, author of an admirable "History of the United States." This writer has indeed spoken in exalted language of the Quaker legislator. After speaking of the early religious choice of Penn, he adds, "It would not be easy to figure a more interesting career than is exhibited in the greater portion of his subsequent life. Everywhere, from the courts of German princes to the encampments of Indian savages, we find him overcoming evil by good, and disarming human violence and ferocity by gentleness, patience, and piety. A mind so contemplative, and a life so active; such a mixture of mildness and resolution, of patience and energy, of industry and genius, of lofty piety and profound sagacity, have rarely been exemplified in the records of human charac-

ter." More of the same noble praise is freely accorded by the pure and high minded Grahame. But he feels compelled to shade it afterwards. While the Scotch Presbyterian judges according to his sincere and rigid faith of the tenets of Quakerism, he also shares some of that feeling which challenged Penn in his lifetime for his influence with King James, and for his mode of acceding to the measures of that monarch.

Grahame was moved to qualify "the un-mixed and unmerited encomium which Penn's character and labors have received," and then proceeds to reflect upon him for cultivating the friendship of a tyrant; for improving the exercise of arbitrary power to his own private ends, in opposition to the rights of others; for asking favors from hands imbrued with the blood of his friends; and for being an actual abettor on the wrong side in various issues of his time.* That there was ground for all these

* Grahame's *History of the United States*. London edition, Vol. II. pp. 313-319.

Even Gordon, in his "History of Pennsylvania," has reiterated, though in somewhat softened terms, the more common imputations upon Penn's sincerity and worth, laying the chief stress upon his alleged ambition, worldliness, love of court pleasures, and distaste for a quiet life. See Gordon, pp. 71, 83-88, and 176.

- For a satisfactory refutation of the mistakes and reflec-

imputations the preceding pages will show. But that this ground is just, and will sustain these charges fairly and fully, the reader of these pages will hardly decide in the affirmative. The decision is left to him. It is enough to add of them here, that they are utterly inconsistent with the praise which Grahame has so honorably ascribed to Penn. Such contraries of character, as would deserve both the praise and the censure, were never yet found in a human being.

To set against the above mentioned aspersions upon William Penn the encomiums which his singular excellence and his career would justify, would be a pleasing work. But when a man's life and labors speak his praise, words may be spared, and epithets are only dross, which do not make a part of the precious metal of virtue. The single fault, which appears most prominent in his character, is that of a lavish improvidence in managing his pecuniary affairs. He bestowed gifts when he was compelled to borrow the means. He remitted his own honest dues when his credit-

tions most discreditable to Penn, the reader is referred to 'An Examination of the various Charges brought by Historians against William Penn, both as a Man, and as a political Governor, by J. R. Tyson,' in *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, Vol. II. Pt. II. pp. 127 - 157.

ors or his dependants pressed their claims. He intrusted to a cunning and deceitful steward the control of matters, which he ought to have kept in his own hands. Had he waited less upon the court for the benefit of others, his own interests would not have suffered so much. He risked bankruptcy for the sake of liberality.

Penn was far from being insensible of the great sacrifices of social and personal considerations, which he had made by identifying himself with the Quakers. He might have been a peer of the realm. That honor was indeed intended for his family ; but he yielded not only that prospect, but also the actual dignity of his standing in the artificial scale of social rank. There are frequent passages in his letters and other writings, showing how the spirit of the Christian Friend got the better of the pride of the English gentleman.

The solid claims which may be advanced in behalf of Penn, as one of the few of the eminent and pure, one of the very few of the innocently great of this earth, rest upon the substantial foundations of virtue and wisdom, which are appreciated throughout the world. He pursued exalted aims, drawn from the most advanced attainments of the age in which he lived, and anticipating the light of an after

time. Three great principles controlled his mind and cheered his heart; reverence for God, love for man, and confidence in freedom. If, in the judgment of worldly minded and politic statesmen, Penn's theory of government is distrusted, or thought inefficient, it is because of the predominance in it of the moral element both as the end and the means. He made schools of industry out of his prisons; and when English law visited death upon many petty offences, he confined the penalty to wilful and deliberate murder, allowing it in this case only because he understood the law of God as requiring it. His intense interest in the Indians, which led him even to dance and jump at one of their festivals, and his scrupulous justice toward them, which made their pagan hearts revere him, form the most pleasing narrative in the whole history of the intercourse between the savages and the whites. His early care for the negro slaves led him to suggest a measure in their behalf, which would have insured the entire abolition of slavery.

Penn excelled in the best of human qualities. He was free from vice. His natural powers were of a high order; his acquired advantages were large and various, embracing bodily strength, learning, wisdom, and discretion,

as the furniture of his mind, with the richest and most attractive graces of the heart. As a writer, he used few images, but employed a wide compass of language. He makes constant references to the Scriptures, but always quotes them in their natural sense, with no forced applications. The titles of all his known publications have been given in the preceding pages, under their respective dates.

They who conceive of Penn as a sanctimonious and rigid zealot, with a stiffened countenance, a formal garb, and a frowning look cast upon the innocent pleasures and good things of life, would go wide of the truth. He was quite a gentleman in his dress and manner of life, in his furniture and equipage. He loved manly sports; he could hunt and angle. Dean Swift says, that "he talked very agreeably and with great spirit." Another contemporary testimony, that which the Friends at Reading Meeting (where he attended most in his last years) bore to him after his death, says, "he was facetious in conversation." We learn from other sources that he loved a good joke, and knew how to make one. An instance has already been given of his common habit, in his correspondence, of avoiding *thee* and *thou* by circumlocutions, when he thought it would be disagreeable and offensive. Penn wore buckles and wigs; he had silk, damask,

and silver ornaments in his household; he kept a rich coach and a stately barge, a calash and saddle horses, and used some measure of pomp and ceremony in his acts of government. He had a fine mansion at Pennsbury, and a manor at Springettbury, with rich gardens, and stock of high breeds. He does frequently censure the luxurious cookery of his time; but his cash books afford existing evidence, that his portly frame had not been fed on air and water alone. System, and method, and good order presided over the domestic arrangements of Penn, and thrice in every day the household were called together for religious exercises. Cheerfulness and sincerity characterized the piety of William Penn.* On the first General Meeting of Friends, held after the news of his decease, in Philadelphia, on the 16th of March, 1719, "a testimony of Friends

* See *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, Vol. III. Pt. II. pp. 67-104, for "A Discourse on the private Life and domestic Habits of William Penn, by J. Francis Fisher." This is a most choice and delightful specimen of a kind of writing, which we desire above all other kinds as the memorial of distinguished men. Mr. Fisher has most profitably used materials, which his diligent labors acquired.

In the same volume, pp. 213-231, is "A Memoir of Part of the Life of William Penn, by Mr. Lawton," which is devoted exclusively to exhibiting Penn's honest use of his court influence.

in Pennsylvania, concerning their deceased friend and Governor, William Penn," was given forth, bearing fifty signatures. It expresses his virtues in those calm and measured phrases, which distinguish the best of such documents.*

In spite of its frequent political jars and bickerings, the province of Pennsylvania was, at the time of its founder's death, a monument to his wisdom and benevolence. It numbered then a population of sixty thousand, and Philadelphia alone contained fourteen hundred houses. The province continued to be owned and governed by the Penn family until the war of the revolution. It is a somewhat remarkable fact, that William Penn should not have had a single descendant who embraced his own religious views. Were it worth the while to enter into any inquiries or speculations upon this point, perhaps it would not be difficult to offer some reasonable explanation of the fact, founded upon the known characteristics of human nature. But, waving such an inquiry, it is enough for us to know, that it

* See *The Friends' Library*, Vol. V. pp. 327, 328. Philadelphia, 1841. There is no proof of Bancroft's assertion, (*History of the United States*, Vol. II. p. 403,) that Penn lived and died a holder of slaves. The utmost that can be shown, by the evidence of documents and Penn's cash books, is, that he hired a few, the slaves of others.

was not for the want of consistency or attractiveness in the religious character of the father, that his children deserted the Society for which he had labored with such earnest devotion. It is enough to know, that he was faithful to it, and happy in it, to the end.

The children of William Penn by his first marriage were five, and by his second marriage six. Of the first family, Mary and Hannah died in infancy. The amiable and virtuous Springett, the eldest child, and the pride of his father, died, as before stated, in 1696, at the age of twenty. Lætitia married William Aubrey, and died childless. The visit of William Penn, Jun., to Pennsylvania, with its disagreeable consequences, has been already noticed. He was an inexpressible grief to his father. After his return to England, he continued to run the riot of dissipation, with its attendant sins. He joined the Episcopal communion, and endeavored in vain to obtain a place in the army and the navy, and a seat in Parliament. He undertook, in opposition to his father's will, which made his step-mother executrix, to assume the government of Pennsylvania. At last, leaving his wife and children to be maintained at the family seat at Rushcombe, he went to France, to avoid his creditors, and died there in 1720. His son,

Springett Penn, the grandson of William Penn, and the last male issue of his first wife, died in London, in 1767.

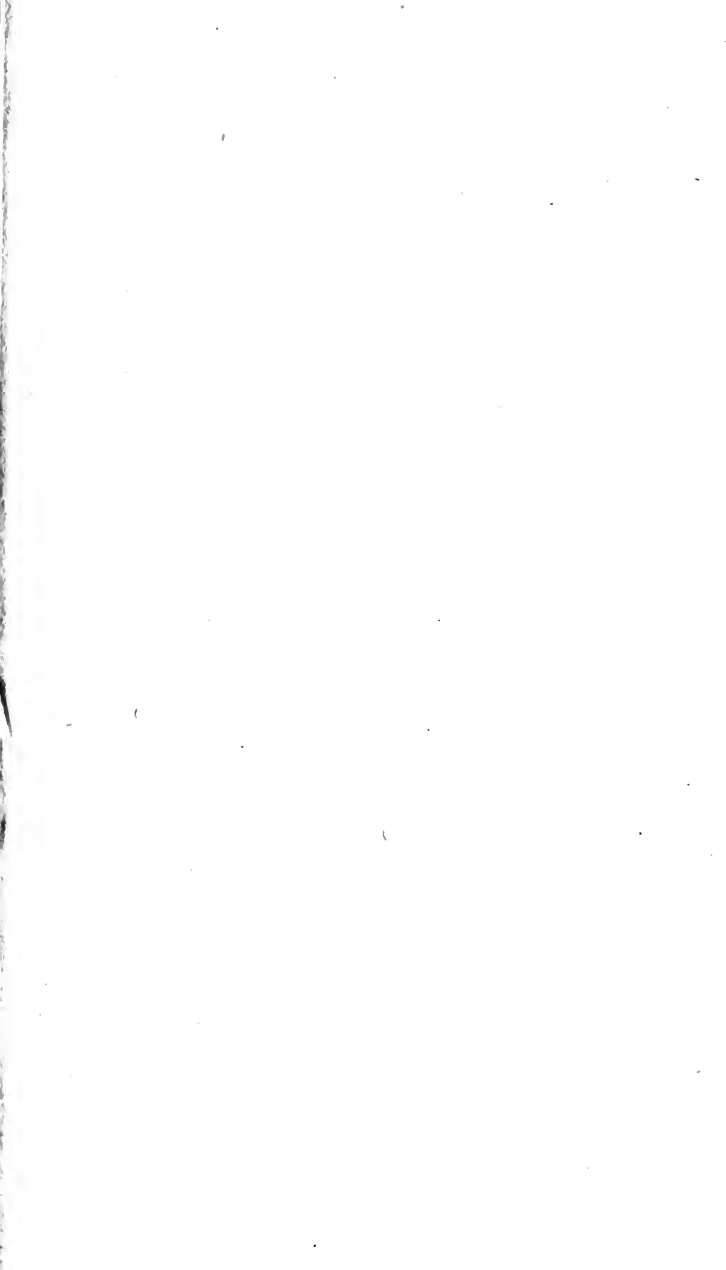
Of the children of Penn's second marriage, Hannah and Dennis died in infancy, and John, Thomas, Margaret, and Richard survived him. John, the only one of the family born in America, was never married. He was brought up as a linen merchant, in Bristol, England. He made a visit to Pennsylvania, in 1734, and, as a Churchman, gave a service of plate to the church in Lewistown. His sister, Mrs. Margaret Fræme, came with him; and, as Thomas Penn had come two years before, all of the second family, except Richard, were in the country at one time.

A daughter of Thomas Penn married Archbishop Stuart, of Armagh, primate of Ireland; so strange are the alternations of principle and preference, even in those of the same blood.

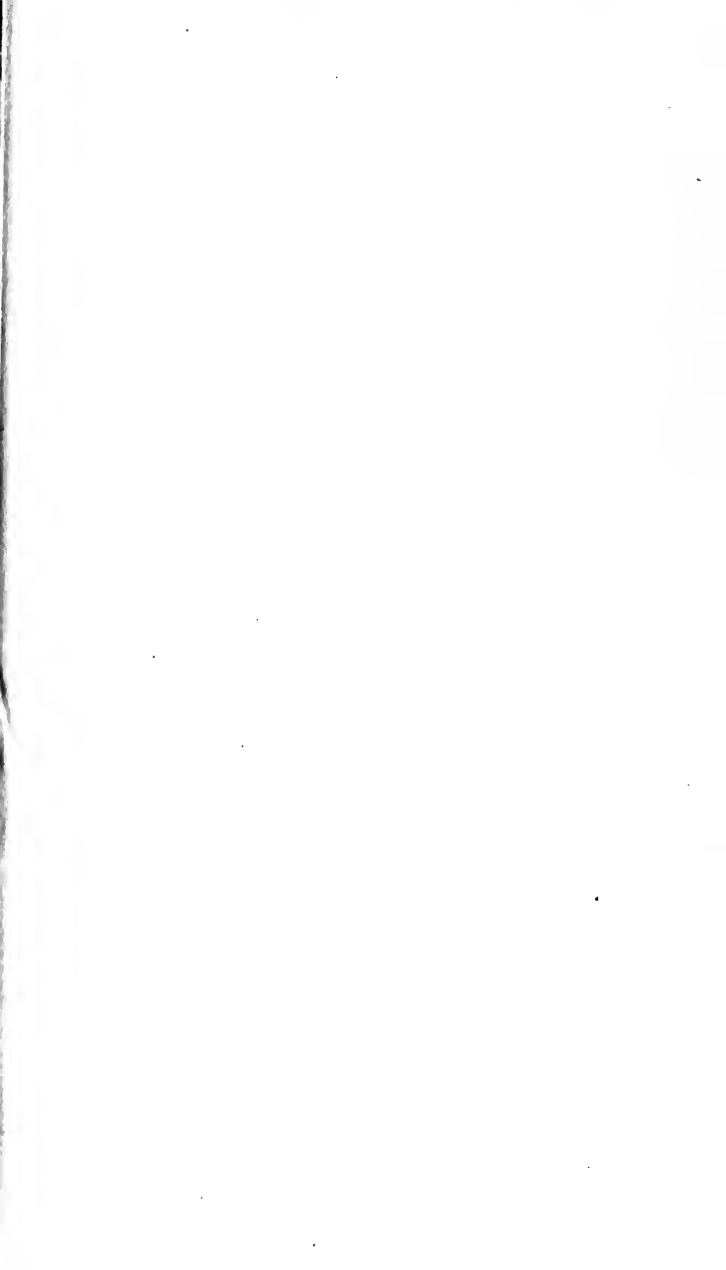
John, the son of Richard Penn, was made Governor of Pennsylvania, in 1763, in behalf of his father and his uncle Thomas; his uncle John being then dead. He continued to be Governor until the war of the revolution. He died, and was buried in Bucks county, in 1795; but his remains were afterwards disinterred, and carried to England. Not one of the Penn family has a grave on this side of the ocean.

John Penn, the eldest son of Thomas, (who was the second son by the second marriage of the Quaker,) was a man of some distinction in literature. His mother was a daughter of the Earl of Pomfret, and he was greatly and worthily interested in his ancestral colony before, and during, and after, the revolution. In 1790, Parliament granted to the family an annuity of four thousand pounds, on account of their loss by the war. This John Penn visited Pennsylvania after the revolution, and died at an advanced age, at Stoke Park, Bucks, England, in 1834. His brother, Granville Penn, inherited the English estate, and wrote the life of the Admiral, which has been referred to in these pages.

By the will of the founder of Pennsylvania, made before he had agreed upon the terms of its sale to the crown, he left to his son William his English and Irish estates, and to his other children and widow all his American rights and possessions. These proprietors, as we have seen, made visits and transient abodes here; but the chief interest, which the family of Penn will ever have with Americans, gathers around the single character and the eminent virtues of the Quaker son of an English Admiral.









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